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The Adventures of
EDWARD WOGAN

The Adventures of
EDWARD WOGAN

By
MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FREDERICK MAURICE,
K.C.M.G., K.C.B.

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FOREWORD

SOME years ago I was invited to write the history of the Scots Guards. That regiment was raised in 1641 by the Earl of Argyle under warrant from Charles I, ostensibly to aid in suppressing rebellion in Northern Ireland. The early years of the regiment took me into that somewhat murky period of Scottish history which lies between the outbreak of the Civil War and the Restoration. There I came across several times one Edward Wogan, whom I remembered to have met in "Waverley" as Flora MacIvor's hero, and determined to make his better acquaintance. When I had leisure to do so I found that, while almost all the historians of the Civil War have something to say about Wogan, the story of his remarkable adventures has never been put together, save in a page in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, a brief note by Sir C. Firth, and a still briefer by Carlyle; and it seemed to me to be as well worth telling as the story of his more notorious kinsman, the Chevalier Wogan, which Mr. Flood has given us. Clarendon, who was evidently fond of Edward, gives more space to him than any of the others, but is concerned almost entirely with the last of his many adventures, and he suggests that Edward joined the Parliamentary Army in 1645 at the age of fifteen or sixteen. As we know that in March of that year Edward's commission as a Captain in a crack regiment of the New Model Army was approved by Parliament, this is incredible. It is no less incredible that a boy of sixteen or seventeen should have written the account of the operations of the New Model Army which appears in Chapter III, and have induced a body of

veteran soldiers to follow him to Scotland on a desperate adventure.

Clarendon says nothing of Edward's provenance, but Scott, who follows Clarendon, jumped to the conclusion that he was an Englishman, and is wrong as to the date of his death. There are other questions to be answered in telling Edward's story. How came it that a young gentleman, sprung from a family of Roman Catholics, which had been settled in the Pale for more than three hundred years, was accepted as an officer in the New Model Army, at a time when the Parliamentary party was seething with hatred and fear of Irish Roman Catholics? How came it that Edward, having served for three years with the New Model Army with distinction and with obvious pride, deserted to join the Royal forces at a time when the King's fortunes were at their lowest ebb? It is only possible to answer these questions with conjectures. I have based my conjectures on the background of Edward's life, and I hope they will be found to be reasonable. Apart from these conjectures I have told the stories of Wogan's adventures as they have come down to us from many hands, with just so much of current history as is needed to explain the reasons for the adventures. It remains for a British Dumas to embroider my story.

I regret that I have not been able to find a portrait of my hero. The *Dictionary of National Biography* says that there is a portrait of him at Castle Malahide, but Lord Talbot de Malahide tells me that, while there are portraits of other Wogans there, there is none of Edward.

My thanks are due to Sir Edward Marsh, who read my manuscript and made many valuable suggestions.

CHAPTER I

THE PALE

LAND and religion have been the two main sources of trouble in Ireland, and of the two, land is by far the older and religion by far the more bitter. In this story of a young gentleman descended from the early English adventurers, I am only concerned with the troubles of the dispossessed Irish in so far as they affected the settlers in what became the Pale. Most English people think of the Anglo-Irish as a Protestant minority in a Roman Catholic country, but there were Roman Catholics from England settled in Ireland more than four hundred years before the first Protestant arrived, and it is with their troubles I have to do. The seeds of these troubles were sown by Henry II when he came to Ireland to bring order to the conquests of Strongbow's freebooters.

Henry had an opportunity of establishing a system which would accord with Irish tradition and practice. Instead, he applied to Ireland, or rather to that portion of it which was within his control, the only system of land tenure with which he was acquainted. One of his first acts was to make the English settlers hand back to him the land they had obtained or seized and he returned it to them under feudal tenure.

His plan seems to have been to organize that portion of Ireland which was within easy reach of England and could be controlled without difficulty, as an English province. This would provide him with feudatories paying their dues and giving him service, and he hoped for a gradual extension of this province, as more and more adventurers came over from England. Inside the English

province the Irish had no rights ; the English landowners built themselves castles from which they rode forth armed cap-à-pie and ruled with the strong arm. Outside the province the Irish were left their own laws and customs.

The Irish Brehon law, which embodied these laws and customs, did not recognize the right of primogeniture or private ownership of land, which belonged to the tribe and was apportioned by it. The chief, who was nominally elective, was provided in kind with what was needed for his due maintenance, and the tribe gave him service in time of danger, but this service had no connexion with land tenure. When Henry left Ireland this system prevailed in two-thirds of the country, and it was inevitable that it should clash with the feudal law of the remaining third. Yet Henry's plan was followed by most of his successors, who did not realize that it was necessary either to gain complete control of Ireland or to adopt a system which the natives understood and would accept. Richard II had vague plans for the conquest of Ireland, but events were too much for him, and they ended in complete failure. No statesman before Cardinal Wolsey envisaged the control of Ireland as important to the security of England, and Henry VIII was the first English sovereign to take the title of King of Ireland. By that time so much had gone wrong as to be almost beyond repair.

But I am jumping ahead too fast. Not only were no attempts made to arrive at an adjustment between feudal law and Brehon law, but feudal law itself soon began to break down, because the English kings, while taking all that they could get from their Irish feudatories, could not or would not fulfil their part of the feudal bargain and provide protection. It was in the reign of Edward I that the cracks in the flimsy structure began to appear. Edward meant well by Ireland and had plans

for its development, but, as was the normal case with the Plantagenets, he was too much occupied with wars elsewhere to give much attention to what was for him a secondary issue. He could not spare the time to come to Ireland himself, but sent over some of the best men he could find to tighten the nuts of the creaking machinery of Irish administration. Amongst these was Sir John Wogan of Wiston, Pembrokeshire, a lawyer of distinction. He was sent to Ireland by Edward in 1285. In 1292 he was a judge of the Northern circuit, and three years later Edward made him Chief Justiciar, a position corresponding to that of the modern Lord Lieutenant. Wogan was able and energetic. He made a truce between the Burkes and the Geraldines, who were engaged in an intermittent civil war, and assembled a parliament in Kilkenny in which the English settlers, many of whom had come to prefer Irish to feudal law, were forbidden to adopt Irish dress and customs. Wogan's reforms were interrupted by the demands of his sovereign for men and money for the war in Scotland, and in 1296 he raised, equipped and led to Scotland a considerable force to join Edward for his campaign against Baliol, in which the Scone stone was captured and brought south. Returning to Ireland in 1298, Wogan found that in the absence of so many of the fighting men of the English province the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes of the Wicklow mountains, who were for long to be uneasy neighbours of the Wogans, had been replenishing their larders from the rich fields of Kildare and had cut communications with Dublin, so that the justices could not ride circuit in Kilkenny and Wexford. He was in process of abating this nuisance and of settling disputes of warring clans, when he was called on to raise and take to Scotland another levy for Edward's campaign against Wallace in 1300. He came back in 1302 and resumed his functions as Chief Justiciar, to find,

before long, that the King now wanted men and money for service in France ; and the treasury in Dublin was again emptied. If the Plantagenets had given Ireland half the attention which they gave to Scotland and France, her story would have been very different. As it was, Scotland and France drained from Ireland the means by which settled government might have been established.

Soon after the death of Edward I in 1307, Wogan was recalled to England. He had acquired considerable estates in Kildare, in the upper valley of the Liffey, and he left two of his sons, Thomas and John, to look after them. Edward II did not improve conditions in Ireland by making his favourite Piers Gaveston Lord Deputy. Gaveston's misrule was so obvious that the barons forced the King to recall him, and send Wogan back to repair the damage. This he did with some success, but his last adventure in Ireland was not a happy one, for when he led an expedition into the Wicklow mountains to put a stop to the enterprises of the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes, the intricacies of mountain warfare proved too much for him, and he was defeated. However, he managed by negotiation to induce the tribes to submit themselves to the King's grace, and that done, he said good-bye to Ireland in 1312 and went home to Pembrokeshire in time to escape the disaster which swept away most of his work of restoration.

Bannockburn was the immediate cause of the breakdown of the feudal system in Ireland. As soon as the news of this crushing defeat of the English was known, the Irish chiefs and many of the disgruntled settlers from the other side of St. George's Channel thought the time had come to throw off a galling yoke. O'Neill, the restless king of Ulster, and the de Laceys, once lords of great estates in Meath and eastern Ulster, joined in an invitation to Edward, younger brother of Robert Bruce, to come and carve out a kingdom for himself. Edward

Bruce landed at Larne in May 1315 with a considerable force, better trained and equipped than any that Ireland had seen since Henry II had left. This was the signal for a general rising, and Edward Bruce had little difficulty in defeating the royal forces sent against him. On May 1st, 1316, he was crowned king of all Ireland near Dundalk. In the following year Robert Bruce arrived with reinforcements, and the two brothers swept through Ireland with the sword, devastating the English province up to the walls of Dublin, which they failed to take. The savagery of the Scots proved to be their undoing, and the priests, under direction from the Pope, used all their influence to rouse their people against them. Robert returned to Scotland, and Edward, left to himself, soon increased the number of his enemies ; and the settlers of the Pale came to the conclusion that the worst English Governor would be better than this Scot. So when Robert Mortimer arrived with reinforcements from England, he was able to raise an army which, under John de Birmingham, defeated the Scots in the battle of Fenghart, where Edward Bruce was killed.

Ireland had been rescued from the Scots, but the effects of three years of Scottish rule remained. It became evident to the Irish feudatories that their overlord could not protect them, and many of them came to the conclusion that it would be safer and more profitable to make friends of the native Irish than to remain under the rule of England. More and more of them adopted Irish dress and customs and became in effect Irish chiefs. Edward III, who, like his grandfather, wanted more men and money from Ireland for his wars, set about checking this process and restoring the feudal system. In 1341 he proposed to resume all royal grants of land, which meant that those in occupation of these lands would have had to pay heavily to get them back, and he summoned a

parliament to meet in Dublin and legalize this exaction. This was met by a convention at Kilkenny of the "prelates, earls, barons and community of Ireland". They addressed a vigorous protest to the King, who, with the calls which he intended to make upon Ireland in mind, gave way, and took the wiser course of ordering all absentee landlords, the number of whom had increased as conditions in Ireland became unpleasant, to return to their lands and raise men and money for him under pain of forfeiture. This produced the result which he wanted, for many a stalwart Irishman fought at Cressy, and the Earl of Kildare, as the head of the Leinster FitzGerald's had become, was knighted for services at the siege of Calais.

These calls for foreign service increased the grievances of the landowners of the English province, and in 1347, the year after Cressy, "the prelates, Earls, Barons and Commons of Ireland" directed Friar John L'Archer, Prior of the Order of St. John in Ireland, and Thomas Wogan, to prepare and present to the King a petition setting forth that the extortions and oppressions of the King's Irish officers were worse than the incursions of the King's Irish enemies. Thomas Wogan had followed his father, Sir John, into the law, and became a judge. In 1344 he was made Constable of the Castle of Clonmore, and, as an example of the exactions of which the landowners complained, he was required to maintain three men at arms, eight horses fully equipped, eight hobillars¹ and twenty-four archers for the preservation of the King's peace in Kildare. This was for local defence only, and there were the calls for foreign service to be met as well.

The King now planned a drastic and ill-considered measure to control his grumbling subjects in Ireland. In 1361 he sent to rule Ireland his third son Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who through his marriage with the de Burgh

¹ Mounted men at arms.

heiress was nominal owner of vast estates in Ulster and Galway, of which the Irish had resumed possession. Clarence assembled a parliament at Kilkenny to enact the notorious Statute of Kilkenny, which in effect made any intercourse between the settlers from England and the native Irish treasonable. Froude defends this strange method of colonization as necessary, on the ground that it was the only way to prevent the English from going "native".¹

I prefer the comment of Sir John Davies, who as Attorney General of Ireland in the reign of James I was in a position to see for himself the effects of this enactment. He says that by it the Irish "were indeede in worse case than Aliens of any forrein Realme that was in Amity with the Crowne of England. For, by divers heavy penal Lawes, the English were forbidden to marry, to foster, to make Gossippes with the Irish, or to have anie trade, or commerce in their markets or Fayres : . . . Whereby it is manifest, that such as had the Government of Ireland under the Crowne of England, did intend to make a perpetuall separation and enmity between the English and the Irish, pretending (no doubt) that the English should in the end ròote out the Irish : which the English not being able to do, did cause a perpetual Warre between the nations".²

This attempt to shut off the English province from the rest of Ireland and to treat the native Irish as enemies was followed, as Davies indicated, by a series of risings. There were four of these between 1369 and 1401, which particularly concerned the Wogans. Thomas Wogan had died without a son, and the family property in Kildare fell to his younger brother John. He built Rathcoffey Castle, in the valley of the Upper Liffey, where it served

¹ Froude, *The English in Ireland*, 1872, p. 25.

² Sir John Davies, *A Discoverie*, London, 1612, p. 113 *et seq.*

as an outpost against the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes and became the chief seat of the family. Here they lived much the same sort of life as a baron in the Scottish border, and Rathcoffey Castle was thrice beleaguered by the O'Tooles or the O'Byrnes or by both together. Despite these trials the family did its best to serve the King loyally, and in 1444 Richard Wogan of Rathcoffey, who, following the Wogan tradition had taken to the law, became Lord Chancellor of Ireland. By that time English rule in Ireland was tottering. Richard II's two abortive attempts to conquer Ireland, and the civil war in England, did not improve matters. The English province, now called the "English Pale", had shrunk to the County of Dublin and parts of the Counties of Meath, Louth and Kildare, while even within this confined area the Lord Chancellor did not find it easy to make the King's writ run, for many of the big landowners in the Pale, notably the greatest of them all, the Earl of Kildare with his Geraldines, openly defied the Statute of Kilkenny.

In 1449 Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He took a practical view of the situation, and made himself popular both with the Anglo-Irish and the native Irish by not attempting to apply laws which he could not enforce. The result of this was that, when the Wars of the Roses began, the Earl of Kildare, followed by most of the landowners of the Pale, became an enthusiastic Yorkist. A Wogan fell at Wakefield, apparently a younger son, since the Wogan estate did not suffer as did others in the Pale during the civil war in England, for it happened, not infrequently, that, when the English owner fell, the native Irish crept back and resumed possession of the land. The strength of their following in Ireland encouraged the Yorkists to use that country as a base for their two

pretenders, Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck. Simnel was actually crowned in Dublin in 1487 in the presence of Kildare and of almost all the Lords of the Pale, while the defeat of his expedition at Stoke added to the tale of casualties amongst the landowners of the Pale. Three years later the Yorkists made another attempt of the same kind when Perkin Warbeck was brought to Ireland, but his enterprise collapsed even more ignominiously than Simnel's. I believe the reason for the adherence of the Lords of the Pale to the cause of these shoddy pretenders to have been their desperate situation. During the Wars of the Roses they had received no help from England; the treasury in Dublin was empty, and they were driven to raise amongst themselves a defence force which they called the brotherhood of St George. This proved to be insufficient, and they were reduced to the ignominy of paying blackmail for their security to the Irish chiefs. It is not surprising, then, that they were ready to clutch at any straw, and that they welcomed Simnel when he arrived with the backing of the Dowager Duchess of Burgundy, daughter of Richard of York, and a force of German mercenaries.

With the accession of the Tudors English policy towards Ireland took a turn for the better. Henry VII had treated Simnel with wise clemency, and there were comparatively few executions after the collapse of the rebellion. Henry proposed to try the same method in Ireland, and he sent Sir Richard Edgecombe to negotiate with Kildare and his followers. The terms Edgecombe offered were easy, and after some discussion were accepted, Kildare swearing allegiance to Henry. The King, with a sense of humour proper to the occasion, thereupon ordered the Lords of the Pale to come to Court, and entertained them at a banquet at which the wine was served by the man whom they had crowned in Dublin.

When Perkin Warbeck landed at Cork, Kildare prudently took no part in his welcome, though he was received with joy by the other great FitzGerald noble, the Earl of Desmond. Gerald FitzGerald, Earl of Kildare, known in Ireland as "Geroit Mor", had made himself supreme in Eastern Ireland and controlled the government in Dublin, but he was only able to keep this position at the cost of internecine war with that other great house, the Butlers, headed by the Earl of Ormond. The rivalry of these two parties kept the Pale in constant turmoil, for whenever parties of Geraldines and Butlers met, the war cries Crom-a-Boo and Butler-a-Boo were raised, and a conflict of arms usually followed. To abate the double nuisance of this clan warfare and of the risings of Perkin Warbeck's followers in the south, Henry VII sent to Ireland in 1494 Sir Edward Poyning with an armed force. Poyning, having filled the chief offices with men whom he had brought from England, summoned a parliament to meet at Drogheda, in which he set about complying with his instructions to make the royal power paramount. He got statutes passed forbidding the raising of private levies, the use of battle cries, and abolishing contribution in kind. He then forced through the Act known as Poyning's Law, by which no parliament could meet in Ireland without the King's authority, and no Act passed by such parliaments could become law until approved by the King in Council. He succeeded in getting the Geroit Mor attainted, on the grounds of his collusion with his brother, who had joined Desmond in support of Perkin Warbeck. Kildare was sent to England and imprisoned in the Tower to await trial.

There was little difficulty with a picked parliament in getting acts passed : the trouble was to get them enforced. Henry VII understood this, and when Kildare was

brought before him for trial he was impressed by his personality, and decided that it would be better to use him than to condemn him. The story ran in Ireland that when the witnesses asserted that "all Ireland could not govern the Earl of Kildare", Henry answered "then let the Earl of Kildare govern all Ireland"! Be that as it may, the Geroit Mor was sent back to Ireland as Lord Deputy in 1496, and ruled for seventeen years, if not "all Ireland", at least Dublin and the Pale. He died in 1513 and was succeeded by his son, another Gerald FitzGerald. Henry VIII was at first disposed to continue his father's policy, but the troubles of the Pale did not abate, and bickering between Geraldines and Butlers was continuous. Complaints against the Deputy poured into London, and in 1519 the King summoned Kildare to Court and sent the Earl of Surrey to Ireland in his place. But young Gerald's ways were as winning as those of his father, and he had not been long at court before he had married the daughter of the Marquis of Dorset and gained the King's ear. The King invited him next year to the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and three years later he was back in Dublin as Lord Deputy.

But a new power had arisen in England. Wolsey was clear that control of Ireland should be an important element of English policy. He mistrusted Kildare, whom he believed to be intriguing in Scotland; he thought it essential to break him as a preliminary to the establishment of the King's rule, and sought allies amongst his enemies the Butlers, a complete reversal of Henry VII's policy. The combination proved to be too strong for Gerald, who twice found himself in the Tower. During his second imprisonment the Butlers spread a report that he had been done to death, and without waiting to find out the truth, his son Thomas, known as "Silken Thomas", headed a Geraldine rising. Henry VIII then

sent Sir William Skeffington to Ireland with troops and artillery, the first appearance of these engines in that country. To the amazement of all Ireland Skeffington's guns in twelve days breached the walls of Maynooth, the stronghold of the FitzGerald, which was regarded as impregnable. Thomas surrendered, on promise of his life and liberty, but was arrested, sent to England, tried for high treason, and executed at Tyburn in 1535, his father having died in the Tower of mortification and despair at his son's foolishness. This broke the power of the Geraldines, and opened a new era in Ireland.

In 1540 Sir Anthony St Leger arrived in Dublin as Lord Deputy and at once opened negotiations with the Irish chiefs. Most of those in the South and West were ready to listen to him, but those of the North as usual held back. St Leger then called a Parliament to meet at Dublin, under the authority of the Great Seal of England, and this was a parliament such as had never been seen in Ireland, for writs were sent to English Lords, prelates, and Commons, and to Irish chiefs. So our old friends the O'Tooles and the O'Byrnes sat down in council with the head of the house of Wogan. An Act was passed making Henry King of Ireland with succession to his heirs, all the chiefs present acknowledged Henry as their liege lord, and a number of the great ones were invited to the English Court, where care was taken to impress them with the King's magnificence. For the first time since the landing of Strongbow a general peace reigned in Ireland, and the harried people of the Pale were looking to the future with hope, when a new element of discord appeared.

Henry's ecclesiastical policy had little effect on the people of Ireland and, as we have seen, the chiefs had joyfully acclaimed him as King after he had been excommunicated by the Pope ; but on the accession of Edward

VI, the Lord Protector Somerset's zeal for reformation soon caused trouble. Two of the Leinster chiefs, O'Connor and O'Moore, headed a revolt. This was suppressed without much difficulty and the two chiefs surrendered on a promise of pardon, but like "Silken Thomas" they were arrested, sent to England, and imprisoned. This second breach of faith had a very bad effect, and it affected the Wogans, for the lands of O'Moore marched both with those of the Wogans and the O'Tooles, and O'Moore's kin induced the O'Tooles to join them in seeking revenge by raiding Kildare. Attempts to introduce the Prayer Book of Edward VI and the new liturgy to Ireland were generally resisted, and the Roman Catholics both within and without the Pale continued to attend Mass. Discontent came to a head in the North, where Shane O'Neill, a son of the Earl of Tyrone, who considered that he had a grievance, took advantage of the religious troubles to stage an insurrection. Ireland in general was seething, when Edward's death and the accession of Mary brought a change of ecclesiastical policy.

Shane O'Neill at once tendered his submission and went over to England to swear fealty to Mary. She made it her business to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, dismissed the Church of England clergy, and brought back Catholic Bishops and priests, restored the young Earl of Kildare to his lands, and appointed Roman Catholics to all the official posts. One of the last to benefit by this policy was Nicholas Wogan of Rathcoffey, who was made a Commissioner of Kildare in 1558, the year of Mary's death.

Elizabeth, like most of her predecessors, found so many other troubles on her hands, that she had at first little time to spare for Ireland. There was war with France, Calais had been lost, the young Queen of France was the

candidate of the Catholics for the throne of England and Scotland, and there were signs that Scotland did not intend to be a passive spectator of events. So at the very beginning of the new reign foreign policy had its reactions on Ireland. It would not serve my purpose to follow the story of the risings which were almost continuous during Elizabeth's time, but the first of those with which she had to deal resulted in a policy which eventually affected the Pale. As soon as he learned that a Protestant Sovereign was again on the English throne, Shane O'Neill took the field, and it was not till 1567 that he was defeated finally and murdered. He had been in correspondence both with France and the Empire, and had boasted openly of the foreign help he was to receive. There were obviously grave dangers to England if the Roman Catholics of Ireland were to be supported by the Catholic States of Europe, and Elizabeth, with Cecil at her side, proposed to deal with them by an energetic suppression of rebellion in Ireland and an extension of Protestant influence by a system of plantations of settlers from England. This policy cost money, and Elizabeth, grudging every penny taken from the English Treasury for Ireland, ordered her lieutenants to get more money from the country. Trouble followed in the Pale.

There is evidence that it was the Queen's intention to be gentle in applying the Reformation and the Act of Uniformity to the Pale, but her Protestant officials, who had replaced Mary's Catholics, found in the fining of recusants a means of replenishing the Treasury, and probably they had old scores to settle. The system of exacting fines for attendance at Mass and the barring from office of all those who would not take the Oath of Supremacy produced a general unrest amongst the Roman Catholic landowners of the Pale, and this was increased when in 1577 Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord

Deputy, imposed taxes which the Lords of the Pale held to be illegal. Lord Baltinglass, a landowner in Wicklow and Kildare, and in the latter county a neighbour of the Wogans of Rathcoffey, was a zealous Roman Catholic, who had been fined for attending Mass. He headed a petition of the Catholic landowners against Sidney's taxes, and was arrested and imprisoned as a punishment for this temerity. This treatment apparently made him desperate, for when he was released he raised a body of Catholic landowners, amongst whom was Richard Wogan, and with them joined the O'Tooles and O'Byrnes in the Wicklow mountains in a revolt.

Lord Grey de Wilton, who had recently become Lord Deputy, marched at once to suppress the rising, but, like Sir John Wogan, he entered a pass in the mountains without taking the precaution to occupy the flanking heights, and was overwhelmed. While on this expedition Lord Grey learned that a Spanish force had landed at Smerwick, off the coast of Kerry ; he therefore left the rebels to the enjoyment of their victory, hurried back to Dublin, raised a fresh force, in which were two young Englishmen, Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser, and with it marched to Smerwick to unite with the English fleet. With help from the sea Grey made short work of the invaders, who turned out to be mainly Italians sent by the Pope, with a few Spaniards. They surrendered after a siege of three days, and all except the officers were killed. Grey returned to Dublin to find that in his absence Baltinglass and his followers had overrun the Pale. With better soldiers and better officers than in his first expedition into Wicklow, he was successful, and the rebellion collapsed. Baltinglass escaped to Spain, but Richard Wogan and eighteen others of the best blood of the Pale were condemned of high treason, while the smaller fry were hanged in Dublin in batches. A

conspiracy to seize Dublin Castle and free the prisoners was discovered, martial law was proclaimed, and a reign of terror followed in the city.

Richard Wogan was a younger son, and apparently the family record was such as to save their estates ; but others were not so fortunate, and as the successive rebellions were repressed, wholesale confiscations followed, which prepared the way for plantations. The Baltinglass estates in Kildare were naturally expropriated, and this with other confiscations allowed of a considerable plantation in Leinster, while another on a much bigger scale was carried out in Munster. Elizabeth's policy of vigorous suppression of rebellion, followed by ruthless executions and confiscations, produced peace of a sort for ten years until 1595, when the Earl of Tyrone, who claimed the title of " The O'Neill ", headed a confederacy of Ulster Chiefs, and a war followed which affected all Ireland. The attempt of Essex to suppress the rebellion failed, and he was succeeded by Lord Mountjoy, who found in 1600 that there was hardly a part of Ireland in which there was not some disorder. In the following year his task was complicated by the landing at Kinsale of a force of some 4,000 Spaniards, whom Tyrone succeeded in joining. Mountjoy, who marched to Kinsale, was in a dangerous situation when a blunder by his enemy ended in the rout of the Irish and the surrender of the Spaniards. Tyrone escaped to the North, but his position was hopeless, and in 1603 he surrendered just as Elizabeth was dying. She left to her successor a subdued but impoverished and stricken Ireland.

The accession of James was hailed with joy by Irish Roman Catholics, who were convinced that the new King would be sympathetic to those of the same faith as his mother. It happened that at this time there was much discontent in most of the towns in Ireland because a new

currency, which had been introduced by Elizabeth, was found to be debased. The priests began to celebrate Mass openly in the chief towns of the South, and this was made the occasion for large-scale demonstrations, accompanied, as Irish demonstrations usually were, by disorder and violence, expressing joy at the death of "Jezebel", demanding religious freedom, and protesting against the currency. Mountjoy suppressed these disturbances with a high hand; only in Waterford did he meet with serious opposition, and the King's views on the religious problem were quickly made clear. In August 1603 he received a deputation from Ireland which submitted that there should be a change in the officers of justice, that the currency should be restored and that the Irish should have liberty to worship as Catholics. With the first two submissions James was sympathetic but, as to the third, he said he would rather lose his kingdom than grant such a request. The growing influence of Puritan opinion both in England and in Scotland, and petitions from the Anglican clergy of Ireland that no sympathy should be shown to recusants, led to the issue of a proclamation on July 4, 1605, denying a report of the King's intention to allow liberty of conscience to his Irish subjects, requiring attendance at parish churches on every Sunday and holy day, and ordering all Jesuits and Roman Catholic priests to leave Ireland by December 10.

Four months later the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot raised feeling in England against Papists to a fresh heat, which had immediate reactions in Ireland. Mountjoy, weary of his post, had returned to England as Earl of Devonshire, and was succeeded by Sir Arthur Chichester, who applied the Act of Uniformity with vigour: fines for non-attendance at Anglican churches were enforced, the City Council of Dublin was ordered to attend service in the Anglican Cathedral, and when they refused they were

fined and imprisoned in the Castle. This aroused consternation in the Pale, where most of the Catholic gentry were willing, even eager, to serve the State. Many of them had fought under Mountjoy to suppress rebellion, and they resented deeply that their services should be requited by persecution. It is not surprising then to find Chichester complaining in November 1605, "That divers young gentlemen of the Pale and borders do now run to the wars, so that the King's subjects serve foreign states and Princes, one against another, in bands and companies".¹ In the following December Viscount Gormanston headed a petition which was signed by more than 220 of the leading persons in the Pale, protesting that their loyalty was not affected by their religion, and declaring themselves aggrieved at the severity of the measures taken against themselves and their priests. The only result of the petition was that Lord Gormanston was arrested and imprisoned.

The prejudice against papists in England was such that any story against them was credited. A report was spread that the two great chiefs of the North, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, were engaged in a plot to seize Dublin Castle and murder the Lord Deputy, the only foundation for this being an angry outburst by Tyrone against English policy. The two Earls, hearing that they were to be arrested, escaped to Rome. This cleared the way for a project which James had been maturing. The lands of the two northern chiefs were escheated, and an elaborate scheme was prepared for the pacification of Ulster by a large-scale plantation of Protestants from Scotland, which was not fully developed until 1611. In the following year a similar plantation was made in Wexford. By these methods a hardy stock of farmers, whose industry and skill in the cultivation of the soil were far in advance

¹ *S.P. Ireland*, p. 340.

of those of the native Irish, was introduced into the country, but in the not distant future a heavy price was to be paid for this improvement.

It was decided in 1613 to have a general election, the first contested election in Irish history, and to assemble a parliament which would legalize recent action by the Government and establish English law throughout the country. James considered it essential to have a Protestant majority. The presence of the Anglican prelates would make this secure in the Upper House ; the problem was how to obtain it in the Commons. It was solved by making the fullest use of the new plantations ; forty new boroughs were created, and when the returns were all complete there was a Protestant majority of twenty-four in the Commons. The gerrymandering which had brought this about was so gross, that when the Commons first met, the Roman Catholic members, led by those from the Pale, which had returned only three Protestants, were in a white heat of indignation. They demanded that, before Parliament proceeded with its business, an investigation should be made into the validity of the returns from the new boroughs. The Protestants then moved that the House proceed to the election of a Speaker. While they were in the division lobby the Catholics put their candidate for the Speakership, Sir John Everard, in the Chair, and the Protestants, returning to the Chamber, retorted by forcibly seating their man, Sir John Davies, the Attorney General, in his lap. The House broke up in confusion, the sittings were suspended, and the case was referred to the King, who after receiving a deputation of Lords and Commons of the Pale, compromised by cancelling thirteen of the returns from the boroughs, which left a meagre Protestant majority, and by confirming the election of Sir John Davies to the Speakership. This compromise did not help to calm

religious passion, and the dispute raged until 1615, when the Roman Catholic members agreed to withdraw their opposition to the new boroughs in return for exemption from any further penal enactments. Parliament then got to business, the Statute of Kilkenny was cancelled, the old Brehon law was abolished, the whole of Ireland was divided into Shires, in which English law ran, and all native Irish were admitted to the protection of that law. Parliament showed its appreciation of these reforms by granting the King a substantial subsidy.

Unfortunately the good which this promised was countered by the next step in James's Irish policy. Pleased with the result of his plantation of Ulster, and anxious to increase the Protestant population so as to avoid such another parliamentary impasse as had occurred in 1613, he proceeded with a large-scale plantation of Leinster. There was some jobbery in connexion with this plantation, but on the whole it brought into Leinster from England a good type of landowner and yeoman farmer, thus laying the foundations of the Protestant ascendancy of the eighteenth century in Leinster and, as in Ulster, improving the economic condition of the province. Unfortunately the methods used to create this plantation increased the anxieties of the Roman Catholics. The Oath of Supremacy was now rigorously enforced as a condition of holding office, and consequently the officials in Dublin were Protestants, many of whom used their powers without scruple to further the Reformation. The Plantagenets, when in need of money, had, from time to time, raised it in Ireland by examining the titles of landowners, and, when these were doubtful, demanding fines in return for fresh titles and requisitioning the land in default of payment. There had never been any organized land registry in Ireland, title deeds had been lost or destroyed

in the disturbances or had never existed, possession being in some cases considered by the occupiers to be sufficient title. There was, then, ample opportunity for the discovery of flaws in titles, and the Protestant officials, using the Plantagenet precedent, made the most of them in clearing Roman Catholic occupiers out of Leinster to make room for Protestant settlers. A band of "discoverers" got to work; their zeal was stimulated by a share in the booty, and they used every legal trick to further the good work. The Roman Catholic landowners of the Pale saw that they were in danger of being swamped by this importation of Protestants, which they expected would result in renewed religious persecution; and at the same time they were in a constant state of fear that some pretext would be found to deprive them of their land. So when James died in 1624, while Ireland was more completely under English control than it had ever been, the religious problem was more acute than ever.

The accession of Charles, like that of James, roused hopes amongst the Irish Roman Catholics, who believed that the influence of his Queen would bring religious tolerance. Charles wanted both money and men from Ireland, and to get these was willing to meet the Roman Catholics. In 1626 a deputation of Irish Peers and Commons made an offer to the King of a contribution of £120,000, to be paid in three instalments, in return for an assurance of civil and religious liberty and certain other concessions embodied in a number of "Graces", the most important of which was that the King should not claim land which the owner had possessed for 60 years. The King agreed readily to the granting of the "Graces", and Lord Falkland, then Lord Deputy, issued writs for a Parliament which should give legal effect to the royal promise. The Protestant officials made their plans and bided their time; at the last moment they announced

that as the issue of writs summoning Parliament had not gone out under the Great Seal of England, they were, under Poyning's Act, invalid. In the meantime Charles had discovered that Protestant opinion in his three kingdoms was strenuously opposed to concessions to Roman Catholics, and he was glad of an excuse to wriggle out of the first of his many promises.

After an interval of three years, during which Ireland was governed by two Protestant Lord Justices, Lord Wentworth arrived in 1632 to become Lord Deputy. The Wentworth Scourge, as Ireland called it, lasted nine years ; the policy of those years was to complete the English domination of Ireland, by an extension of the system of plantations, particularly in the West, to raise an Irish army for the King's service, and to replenish the royal coffers with Irish revenues. Wentworth had the sense to see that he could not gain these ends and carry on, at the same time, a religious conflict which must necessarily involve all Ireland ; so he put a damper on the energies of his Protestant officials, and allowed the Roman Catholics a reasonable degree of liberty. He wanted money from Ireland, and he therefore encouraged the development of agriculture and of such industries as would not compete with English trade. In all else his hand was heavy upon all alike, old landowners and new settlers, Protestants and Roman Catholics—all had to find money for him. He bullied his Protestant Council in Dublin, he bullied the Parliament, which he summoned, into granting subsidies, without any guarantees that the "Graces" would be confirmed ; and having got the machinery of Government completely under his control, he proceeded with his plantations. To make room for these he adopted methods which excelled those of the "discoverers" of James's time. No lawyers were allowed to plead unless they took the Oath of Supremacy,

which, in effect, left Roman Catholic landowners without defence ; recalcitrant or protesting officials of the Shires were haled to Dublin and fined heavily by the Castle Chamber, modelled on the Star Chamber of Westminster.

While all this was going on in Ireland, Charles's difficulties with the English Parliament and with the Scots were growing, and in 1639 he brought Wentworth back to help him. The plans agreed on included the completion of an Irish army, to be transported to England for use against the Scots, and Wentworth returned to Dublin as Earl of Strafford to implement this. He summoned a Parliament, which obediently voted subsidies and completed the equipment and training of an Irish army of 8,000 foot and 1,000 horse, composed mainly of Roman Catholics. In the meantime Charles had made peace with the Scots, and Strafford returned to England to find his plans for supporting his King with an Irish army of no avail. The Long Parliament was in session and in control. Strafford's impeachment followed, and his Irish victims hurried to London to increase the number of his accusers. He was beheaded in May 1641. The Long Parliament then appointed, or rather compelled the King to appoint, two Puritan Lords Justices, who proceeded to disband Strafford's army, thus removing one of the King's props, and averting the danger of having wild Irishmen brought into England.

Reaction in Ireland to the removal of Strafford's strong hand was inevitable, and it took a terrible form ; for the great rebellion of 1641 was the most disastrous event in the history of a country in which disasters were many. The Ulster Irish had waited only for a leader and an opportunity to drive out the hated settlers who occupied their lands. They found the former in Sir Phelim O'Neill, who was dissolute, irresponsible, and without military experience, but had a name which was a power

in the North ; the opportunity came when the disbandment of Strafford's army left no organized force to cope with rebellion. This began with a plot to seize Dublin Castle, which was lightly guarded, and lay hands on the weapons taken from Strafford's army and stored there. The plot was discovered in the nick of time and frustrated, but the rising in Ulster was only too successful. Whooped on by Phelim O'Neill, the Ulster peasants attacked the settlers with wild savagery, and in a remarkably short time the whole of Ulster save a few towns was in their hands. Stories of the atrocities perpetrated by the rebels reached England with the usual exaggeration, and moved the whole country to a white heat of fury against Irish Roman Catholics, whether of the North or elsewhere. Troops sent across from Scotland established round Carrickfergus a place of refuge for the hunted Scottish settlers, while the English Parliament ordered the creation of an army to suppress the rebellion. The leaders of the Pale petitioned the Lords Justices, with an assurance of their loyalty, asking that Parliament should be summoned, and that the "Graces", to which the King had once agreed, should be confirmed, offering at the same time to raise a force of 20,000 men if they could be furnished with arms, which they pointed out were needed for the protection of their homes. It happened that the one extension of the rebellion at this time was in Wicklow, so while the victorious rebels of the North were sending raiding and requisitioning parties into Louth and Meath, the O'Byrnes and O'Tooles were doing the same in Kildare. The landowners of the Pale had solid grounds for anxiety, but the Lords Justices replied to their representations by imprisoning their spokesman Lord Dunsany, refusing the Graces, and calling in such arms as had already been issued. The English Parliament, without enquiry into the causes or the extent of the

rebellion, passed a decree on December 8, 1641, that no toleration should be shown to Roman Catholics in Ireland.

By these and like measures the mass of Irish Roman Catholics were driven into the arms of the rebels, and the representatives of the Pale opened negotiations with them at Tara Hill on December 24. The Lords of the Pale were careful to write to the King assuring him of their loyalty and explaining that their action was taken against the Lords Justices, who had deprived them of their rights contrary to His Majesty's wishes and commands. On this the Lords Justices proceeded to arm Protestants living in the Pale, to refuse refuge to Roman Catholics in Dublin, to set up courts martial for the trial of those they captured, who were hanged on the slightest evidence of trafficking with rebels, and to direct Sir Charles Coote, the military Governor of Dublin, to raid the lands of Roman Catholics in the Pale as opportunity offered. Life in Kildare must have been very unpleasant in the winter of 1641-2, for the Catholic gentry raided on the one side from the Wicklow mountains and on the other from Dublin, had to remain in their houses in a state of semi-siege. In February 1642 the English Parliament added fuel to the flames of revolt by offering to subscribers to a fund, designed to meet the cost of the army destined for Ireland, two million five hundred thousand acres of good Irish land, which pointed clearly to wholesale confiscation of the lands of Roman Catholics. The rebellion then became general in Leinster and spread quickly to the other two provinces. So prejudice and impatience converted a comparatively small agrarian rising into a national war of religion. It was in the conflicts which culminated in this tragic event that Edward Wogan, third son of Nicholas Wogan of Blackhall, County Kildare, passed his boyhood.

CHAPTER II

EDWARD GOES TO WAR

CLARENDON, writing of the year 1653, says of Edward Wogan : "There was attending upon the King a young gentleman, one Mr Wogan, a beautiful person of the age of three and four and twenty. This gentleman had, when he was a boy of fifteen or sixteen years, been, by the corruption of some of his nearest friends, engaged in the Parliament service against the King ; where the eminence of his courage made him so much taken notice of that he was of general estimation and beloved of all, but as much in the friendship of Ireton under whom he had command of a troop of horse ; that no man was so much in credit with him."¹

Clarendon's estimate of Edward's age will not fit with what we know of him, for in March 1645 he was commissioned as Captain in a crack regiment of the New Model Army, and it is incredible that this should happen to a youth of fifteen or sixteen ; but owing to the disappearance of family and parish records of the time, it is only possible to guess at his real age. Since the time when John Wogan had built the Castle of Rathcoffey, the family had multiplied ; younger sons had taken over portions of the Wogan estate, built themselves houses, and reared families. In 1641 there were in Kildare Wogans of Rathcoffey, of Newhall, of Blackhall, and of Grangebrossenaluan. Edward's father, Nicholas Wogan of Blackhall, had eight children, four sons and four daughters. The only document relating to the family which I have found is the funeral entry of Nicholas, which is

¹ Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, Vol. V, p. 313.

recorded in the office of Ulster King of Arms.¹ This shows that Nicholas died in July 1636, and that at the time of his death all four of his daughters were married. If the fourth daughter, Lucia, had married at the age of eighteen and in the early part of the year in which her father died, she must have been born in the first months of 1618. Now we know that the eldest son, William, who succeeded to Rathcoffey, was, in the year 1689, High Sheriff of Kildare, and was, in that year, summoned to the Parliament which James II assembled in Dublin. If William was older than Lucia, he would have been at least seventy-three in that year, and it seems improbable that a man of that age should have held these positions in very troublous times. Men aged more quickly then than they do now. It is thus probable that the four daughters were older than the four sons. This would put William's birth in about 1621, and that of Edward, the third son, in about 1625 or 1626; and of the two I prefer, in view of his subsequent career, the latter date. This would mean that in the winter of 1641-2 Edward would be about fifteen, and Thomas, the youngest son, about thirteen.

I have explained that life in Southern Kildare was difficult and dangerous that winter, particularly for a widow with four young sons. There were reports that the Scottish troops in the North were avenging the atrocities of the Ulster rebels with a savagery only less than that of their enemy; there were rumours that an English army was a-foot ready to descend on Ireland, and it was not long before the worst fears of the people of the Pale were realized. Reinforcements from England arrived in Dublin early in the year 1642, and Sir Charles Coote ravaged the Pale under instructions from the Justiciars, who directed the Commander of His Majesty's

¹ *Funeral Entries*, Vol. VII, 1636-9.

Forces "to wound, kill, slay and destroy, by all the wayes and meanes hee may, all the said rebels and their adherents and relievers, and burne, spoil, wast, consume, destroy and demolish all the places, townes and houses where the said rebels are".¹

The result of this savage order was that "it sometimes so fell out that, amongst the multitude, some honest men (much against their minds) did suffer in the common mischief; it being difficult, if not impossible, at those times, and in such hasty and confused actions (especially where whole villages were to be burnt), to enter into examination of particulars so far as to preserve those that had not offended".² Martial law was proclaimed, and bills of High Treason were found "against three hundred persons of quality and estate in the County of Kildare".³ Amongst the three hundred was Nicholas Wogan of Rathcoffey. I suggest that what happened to my particular Wogan family was that Mrs Wogan decided to go to Wales with the two youngest boys and take refuge with the Pembrokeshire Wogans, leaving her two eldest sons to look after the estate, with the help of two of their brothers-in-law, who were Kildare men. I think it probable that she left early in 1642, when the storm clouds were gathering, as the rebels then had control of Wexford and were in communication with Milford Haven. As will appear, there are other reasons which make it probable that Edward went to Wales, as Clarendon says, at the age of fifteen, though not to join the Parliamentary army at once.

Having determined Edward's age to my satisfaction and housed him with the Pembrokeshire Wogans, I must return to Ireland. In answer to the decree of the English

¹ Carte, Ormond, Vol. V, Letter LX.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Book III, para. 206.

³ *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Book III, para. 208, footnote.

Parliament of October 8, 1641, proclaiming its determination to extirpate Roman Catholicism in Ireland, the prelates of that Church assembled on May 10, 1642, in Kilkenny Cathedral and there resolved that, as they were fighting for religious freedom, for the maintenance of the royal prerogative and for the defence of their lives and property, the war was just and lawful. A provisional council of twenty-four members was charged with the control of affairs pending the decision of a representative assembly, which was to be summoned at once. This assembly met at Kilkenny on October 23, and was attended by eleven spiritual and fourteen temporal peers, and two hundred and twenty-six commoners. These constituted themselves the Parliament of United Ireland, which proceeded to formulate measures for the conduct of the war and decided to send envoys to France, Spain and Rome. This Parliament was well aware that Charles needed its help, and was determined that the price of that help should be the grant of civil and religious liberty to Ireland. It sent an address to the King, affirming its loyalty, and justifying its action as intended to enable him to give to Ireland that liberty which, it was convinced, he favoured. Charles was playing a double game. While posing in England as determined to suppress the rebellion—(had he not raised regiments in Scotland for that purpose?)—he was secretly trying to gain the Irish Catholics as allies against the English Puritans; and when the Civil War began this became a dominant trend in his wavering policy.

Lord Ormond, a Protestant and a devoted royalist, had been appointed to succeed Coote in the command of the troops based on Dublin and operating against the rebels, with whom Charles privately instructed him to open negotiations. Ormond saw that news of any intercourse between the King and the rebels would be

fatal to the royal cause, and he had been horrified at the atrocities committed by the Ulstermen ; so at first he refused. But as the Civil War went on, and it was obvious that Charles's difficulties were not diminishing, while his own army in Ireland was unpaid, ill-equipped, and thoroughly disgruntled, he began to change his mind. Early in 1643 the King made Ormond a Marquis, dismissed the Lords Justices, and ordered three of the Puritan members of the Irish Council to be presented for High Treason. The result of this was a general exodus to England of those Protestant officials who were in sympathy with the parliamentary party in England. This cleared the way for negotiations, and on September 16, 1643, Ormond concluded a truce with the Council of Kilkenny. By its terms both sides were to remain in control of the territory which they occupied, the Catholics were to be given facilities to approach the King, and they agreed to furnish him with a subsidy of £20,000.

This truce had a mixed reception ; the English Parliament naturally declared it to be unholy, and their forces in Ulster refused to recognize it ; the last thing it wanted was to set troops in Ireland free to help the King. The English colony of the Pale received the news with joy, as indeed did most of the Anglo-Irish Catholics ; but the native Irish, who were being persuaded by agents from Rome that the time had come to get rid of the English root and branch, were disposed to think that it closed the door to opportunity. Ormond's task was thus no easy one, and when he learned that the Council of Kilkenny was not only adhering firmly to the price it demanded of the King in return for Irish help, but was, under the influence of the Papal Legate, raising that price to include the complete restoration to the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland of its ancient position and privileges, he decided that he could go no farther. The

King then began the notorious and fatal negotiations which he carried on secretly through the Earl of Glamorgan.

Meanwhile, Edward had been growing up in Wales. In the autumn of 1643 he was in his eighteenth year, and we may guess that he became increasingly impatient to take his part in the stirring events of the time. He had seen numbers of his elders go off from the Pale to win their spurs in service on the Continent, and he was not the sort of lad to be a patient spectator of events. I expect that he badgered his mother into agreeing that he should go to the wars. The truce in Ireland meant that there was no scope for adventure in that country. Which side in England was he to join? Well, from the sketch which I have drawn of English policy in the Pale, with particular reference to the Wogan family, which, with one exception, had done its honest best to serve the State loyally, it may be guessed that grumbles against the English Government were common both in Edward's home circle and in those of his friends; and for him the King was the English Government. Mrs Wogan would be informed of the policy of the Council of Kilkenny, and of the hope that if Charles were pressed a little harder, the Roman Catholics of Ireland would win civil and religious liberty. So it would not have needed much push to get Edward into the Parliamentary army.

The push was given, I believe, in this way. One of the Pembroke Wogans, Thomas, was an ardent supporter of Parliament. He had served as a captain of dragoons in the first parliamentary army. Some doubt has been thrown on this, as being a confusion with our Edward,¹ but Thomas is cited in the records of Parliament of May 11, 1648, as "Captain Wogan, not the Revolver",²

¹ See *D.N.B.*, Thomas Wogan.

² Rushworth, Vol. VII, p. 1111.

making it clear that there were two Captain Wogans, and as Thomas was not of the New Model, his commission must have been of earlier date. He was seconded from his regiment to recruit for the parliamentary army in Pembrokeshire, which was at that time the only considerable district in the South-West which stood for Parliament. Later he became Member for Cardiff in the Long Parliament, and when in the spring of 1648, Pembrokeshire caught the Royalist infection from the rest of South Wales, he volunteered to aid in suppressing the rising, was thanked for his services, and awarded £100. That he was of influence at Westminster is shown by the fact that he was appointed one of the King's judges, and signed the death warrant. As a dragoon he would have served in Haselrigg's regiment. Edward was, we know, a fine horseman, and it is reasonable to suppose that a boy of a well-to-do family in Southern Kildare, a home of horse-men, would be riding a pony almost as soon as he could walk, and that he would wish to serve in a mounted regiment.

Thomas Wogan, I suggest, got him into Haselrigg's regiment of dragoons. In that regiment one John Okey was serving as major, and it formed part of the Parliamentary cavalry under the command of Lord Middleton. Edward's subsequent association with these two men would be explained if he was in Haselrigg's regiment. He would be presented by Thomas Wogan as coming from a well-known Pembrokeshire family, and nothing would have been said about his Anglo-Irish origin. This is confirmed by the fact that in the official correspondence in which he is mentioned, he is referred to as an English subject. Parliament was at that time eager to find horsemen of a quality to stand up to Rupert's cavaliers, and when it had found them it was not inquisitive about their religious faith. So there was no

difficulty in getting our young Anglo-Irish Roman Catholic into an army which was swearing to be avenged on papists.

In Haselrigg's regiment, which Edward joined probably in the winter of 1643 or early in 1644, he would have plenty of opportunity to prove his quality, for the regiment served under Waller in the campaign in Hampshire in the spring of 1644, and on March 29 of that year it took a decisive part in the Battle of Cheriton on the downs south of New Alresford. This victory for the Parliamentarians came at a time when things were going badly for them, and the news was received in London with great joy. The regiment later took part in Middleton's advance to the West to succour the Parliamentary forces defeated at Lostwithiel, and in October in the operations which culminated in the second battle of Newbury. My suggestion is that Edward was able to convince Okey that he had courage, initiative and the gift of leadership, and so, when Okey was chosen early in 1645 to raise a regiment of Dragoons for the New Model Army, he asked for Edward to be given the command of one of his troops. This is the last of my conjectures, the rest is fact ; for in March 1645 the name of Captain Edward Wogan was submitted to Parliament for appointment to the command of a troop in Okey's regiment of Dragoons, and this was approved. My explanation of how this came about is, at least, more reasonable than that such a position should have been given, particularly at a time when the Parliamentary army was being reformed, to a young man without any military experience.

The first part of Edward's story of the campaigns of the New Model Army, taking it to February 1646, is included by Carte in his collection of papers published in 1739. He omits some parts of Edward's narrative,

and these I have included ; the second part was published by the Camden Society in 1856.¹ The manuscript is amongst the *Clarendon MSS.* in the Bodleian. But before leaving Edward to speak for himself, I must set the stage for his appearance. The campaign of 1644 had gone badly for the Parliamentary army. Its defeat at Lostwithiel had given the Royalists control of the South-west except of Taunton, which was besieged. The King had been allowed to escape from the field of the second battle of Newbury, and was again firmly established in Oxford ; Montrose was winning victories in Scotland, and there was always the possibility of invasion from Ireland. Most serious of all was the state of the Parliamentary army, which was composed of train-bands from the City of London, and of forces raised and maintained by County Associations. Naturally the enthusiasm for the cause, which had brought the new levies into the field, began to wane under the trials of war, and looting, particularly of the property of Roman Catholics, was prevalent. Later this became a necessity of existence, when the County Associations found the burden of maintaining their levies too great for them, and the men were left unpaid and without adequate supplies. Inevitably under such a system discipline deteriorated. The County Associations, like their men, were eager enough while their territories were in danger, but when the war passed away from them, they grew slack, and their troops, when asked to fight far from their homes, deserted freely. After the failure of the campaign in the South-west, Waller reported that the City train-bands and the men of Essex had no stomach for fighting in those parts. It was he who first pointed to the remedy.

¹ Carte, Collection of original papers. Camden Society. *Carte Papers*, Vol. I.

"My Lords," he wrote to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, charged with the conduct of the war, on July 2, 1644, "I write these particulars to let you know that an army compounded of these men will never go through with your service, and till you have an army merely your own, that you may command, it is in a manner impossible to do anything of importance."

This was a revolutionary proposal to make to a Parliament which had consistently refused the King the right to raise a national army, on the ground that this would imperil civil liberty. But the deterioration of its army was too obvious to be ignored, and the recriminations which, at the end of October, followed on the failure to pursue the King after Newbury were already bringing the need for drastic reorganization to the front, when on November 19, the Eastern Association sent to Parliament a petition stating that it could no longer bear the charge of maintaining its troops and calling on Parliament to find a remedy. The Eastern Association, under Cromwell's influence, provided the hard core of the army, and if it failed, a complete change of system was urgent. So on November 23 the Committee of Both Kingdoms was invited to "consider of a frame or model of the whole militia".

Linked with this problem of military reorganization was the question of command. This had been brought to a head by the incompetence of the Earl of Manchester, who had been in command in the campaign of Newbury. It was said freely that Members of both Houses, who held commands, put the maintenance of their positions before the prosecution of the war. Cromwell, in a speech in the Commons on December 9, put this bluntly: "For what do the many say? Nay, what do many say that were

friends at the beginning of the Parliament? Even this, that the members of both Houses have got great places and commands, and the sword in their hands; and, what by interest of Parliament, and what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur and not permit the war speedily to end lest their own power should determine with it.”¹ So the Commons passed “the Self-Denying Ordinance”, by which no Member of either House was to hold command in the war. Ten days later the Commons, clearly determined to put military efficiency first, defeated a motion that no one should be employed who refused to take the Covenant or to promise submission “to such Government and discipline in the Church as shall be settled by both Houses of Parliament”. The Lords objected to the complete rejection of this motion, and a compromise was reached by which officers were to be required to take the Covenant, which left room for mental reservations, and submission to the Church approved by Parliament was not required. So the way was cleared for Edward’s commission in the New Model.

There was a protracted dispute between the Lords and Commons over the Self-Denying Ordinance, for the Peers were loth to give up their right to command, and they refused to assent to the ordinance as sent up by the Commons. Here too a compromise was reached, leaving a door open which was to enable its greatest soldier to come back to the army. The New Model Ordinance was finally approved on February 15, and the army began to assemble about Windsor during March. Sir Thomas Fairfax was to be Commander-in-Chief, Skippon was made Major-General, a post which carried with it command of the infantry; but owing to the dispute over the Self-Denying Ordinance no Lieutenant-General,

¹ Carlyle, *Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, 1904 ed., Vol. I, p. 186.

who would be the Cavalry Commander, was at first appointed—a clear indication that there was one man in the minds of most Members for this position. On April 20 Cromwell was nominated to the temporary command of the cavalry, and ordered to move West of Oxford to cut communications between the King in that city and Rupert in Hereford ; but he was not formally given the position of Lieutenant-General until the eve of Naseby.

Meanwhile the New Model Army was forming, and in creating it Parliament did two wise things. They began with an issue of four months' pay, borrowing the money from the City of London, an unmistakable sign to the troops that a new era had begun. At the same time they issued stringent orders against looting. Deficiencies in numbers were made good by compulsion, the instructions to the press-gangs being that men signed for service should be "of able bodies and of years meet for their employment and well clothed".¹ Major Okey of Haselrigg's regiment was promoted to be Lieutenant-Colonel and ordered to raise the regiment of Dragoons of the New Model. This regiment was independent of the rest of the cavalry, and acted directly under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief ; normally it covered the advance of the army and found the outposts. In it Captain Edward Wogan was, at the age of nineteen, the proud commander of a troop.

There was one much-needed reform in organization which Parliament could not yet bring itself to face. The strategy of the war was directed by the Committee of Both Kingdoms, which ordered the Parliamentary Generals hither and thither as seemed to it good, leaving them free only to fight their battles, and even then calling them strictly to account for their conduct. The two main defects in this system were that by the time news

¹ Com. of B. K., March 19th. *Com. Letter Book.*

of events in the field had reached Westminster and been translated by the Committee into orders, the situation had often changed, and the orders were either inappropriate or impossible of execution by the time they arrived. Then too the Committee was often in ignorance of the needs of the armies and of the means of meeting them, so that the Parliamentary forces were hampered in their movements by lack of supplies. It needed another sharp lesson to convince Parliament of the folly of this, and to get the Generals a reasonably free hand. That lesson came at the very outset of the campaign of 1645.

In April of that year Fairfax at Windsor was getting his New Model ready to take the field. At the beginning of the month he had sent Okey's Dragoons on to Reading, and at the end of it he received sudden orders from the Committee to march at once with all the force he could assemble to the relief of Taunton. Parliament was alarmed by reports that this, its last stronghold in the South-west, was in straits. It happened that at the very time when these orders were issued, Charles had decided to draw in his forces in the West to himself at Oxford and with them to march Northwards into Derbyshire. So sending Fairfax with the bulk of his army to Taunton was using a steam-hammer to crack a nut. He reached Blandford in Dorsetshire on May 7, and then learned that he was to leave a detachment to raise the siege of Taunton, which in the event proved to be quite adequate, and to hurry back with the rest of his army to Oxford. The Committee was at last aware of the change in the situation, but it was still behind the times, for when Fairfax reached Oxford, the King had already slipped away Northwards, leaving his garrison troops to hold the city. Fairfax was ordered to engage in a futile siege of Oxford, and was occupied with this when news arrived that the King had joined Rupert and turning South had

seized Leicester. Fairfax thereupon marched North from Oxford.

At this juncture Parliament took the wise step of appointing Cromwell Lieutenant-General, and he took formal command of the bulk of Fairfax's cavalry.¹ On June 14 the two armies met about Naseby.² This was a battle of encounter, in that both armies were advancing ; but it happened that the Royalists were moving South deployed, and when the Parliamentary army discovered them, its leading troops had passed over the Naseby ridge and were still in march formation. Fairfax, probably on Cromwell's advice, drew back to the Naseby ridge and deployed there. He sent Okey's Dragoons, which were as usual in front, to line a stiff hedge covering his left flank. Cromwell's cavalry was on the right flank, Skippon with the infantry held the centre, and Ireton, with the remainder of the cavalry, the Parliamentary left, Ireton's men had farthest to go to reach their positions. farthest except Okey's regiment ; but this being in front had plenty of time to reach its position. Rupert, commanding the horse of the Royalist right, observed the withdrawal to the Naseby ridge and at once jumped to the conclusion that the enemy was in retreat. He charged immediately, caught Ireton unprepared, and overthrew both his horse and the supporting infantry. The sight of his friends being swept from the field deeply impressed our young soldier.

Rupert, as was his way, swept on to the baggage train, which was just West of the village of Naseby, about a mile and a half behind the front of battle ; but the Parliamentary army had learned its lesson, so this time the baggage was safely guarded and he was repulsed. Before

¹ The appointment was in the first instance for three months and was subsequently extended.

² The strength of the Royalist army was approximately 7,500 ; that of the Parliamentary army 13,800.

he could get back to the battlefield, Cromwell's cavalry had turned the tide of battle in a fierce charge from the Parliamentary right. That charge has not been described better than by Sergeant Obadiah Bind-the-kings-in-chains-and-their-nobles-with-links-of-iron :

Stout Skippon hath a wound, the centre has given ground,
Hark! Hark! What means the trampling of
horsemen in our rear?
Whose banners do I see, boys? 'Tis he, thank God,
'tis he, boys!
Bear up another minute. Brave Oliver is here.

Their heads all stooping low, their points all in a row
Like a whirlwind on the trees, like a deluge in the
dykes,
Our cuirassiers have burst on the ranks of the
accurst,
And, at a shock, have scattered the forest of his
pikes.¹

With this prelude I leave Edward to tell his story of Fairfax's campaigns.

¹ Macaulay, *The Battle of Naseby*.

CHAPTER III

THE NEW MODEL ARMY¹

THE Proceedings of the New-moulded army from the time they were brought together in 1645, till the King's going to the Isle of Wight in 1647.

Written by Col. Edward Wogan, till then an Officer of that Army.

With the names of all the Colonels of Horse and Foot.²

The regiments of horse, each having 600 horse, besides Officers, were	The regiments of foot, each having 1,000 men, besides Officers, were
1. The General's.	1. The General's.
2. Commissary General's.	2. Major-General Skip- pon's.
3. Col. Graves's.	3. Sir Hardress Waller's.
4. Sir Robert Pye's.	4. Col. Pickering.
5. Col. Whalley's.	5. Col. Herbert.
6. Col. Riche's.	6. Col. Ingoldesby.
7. Col. Rossiter's.	7. Col. Fortescue.
8. Col. Bourcher's. (Butler.)	8. Col. Mountague.
9. Col. Sheffield's.	9. Col. Wielding.
10. Col. Fleetwood's.	(Weldon.)

¹ *Carte's Collection*, Vol. I, and *Clarendon MSS.*

² This is a post-Naseby list and therefore differs somewhat from the list of officers approved by Parliament in March 1645 (*Lords' Journals*, VII, p. 278) and from that in Sprigg's *Anglia Rediviva* (1647 ed., p. 327 *et seq.*) which is an end of the war list.

The corrections of Edward's spelling of names in brackets are mine, and I have expanded those of his abbreviations which are obscure.

Throughout this account the "General" is Sir Thomas Fairfax; the "Lieutenant-General" is Cromwell and the "Commissary General" Ireton.

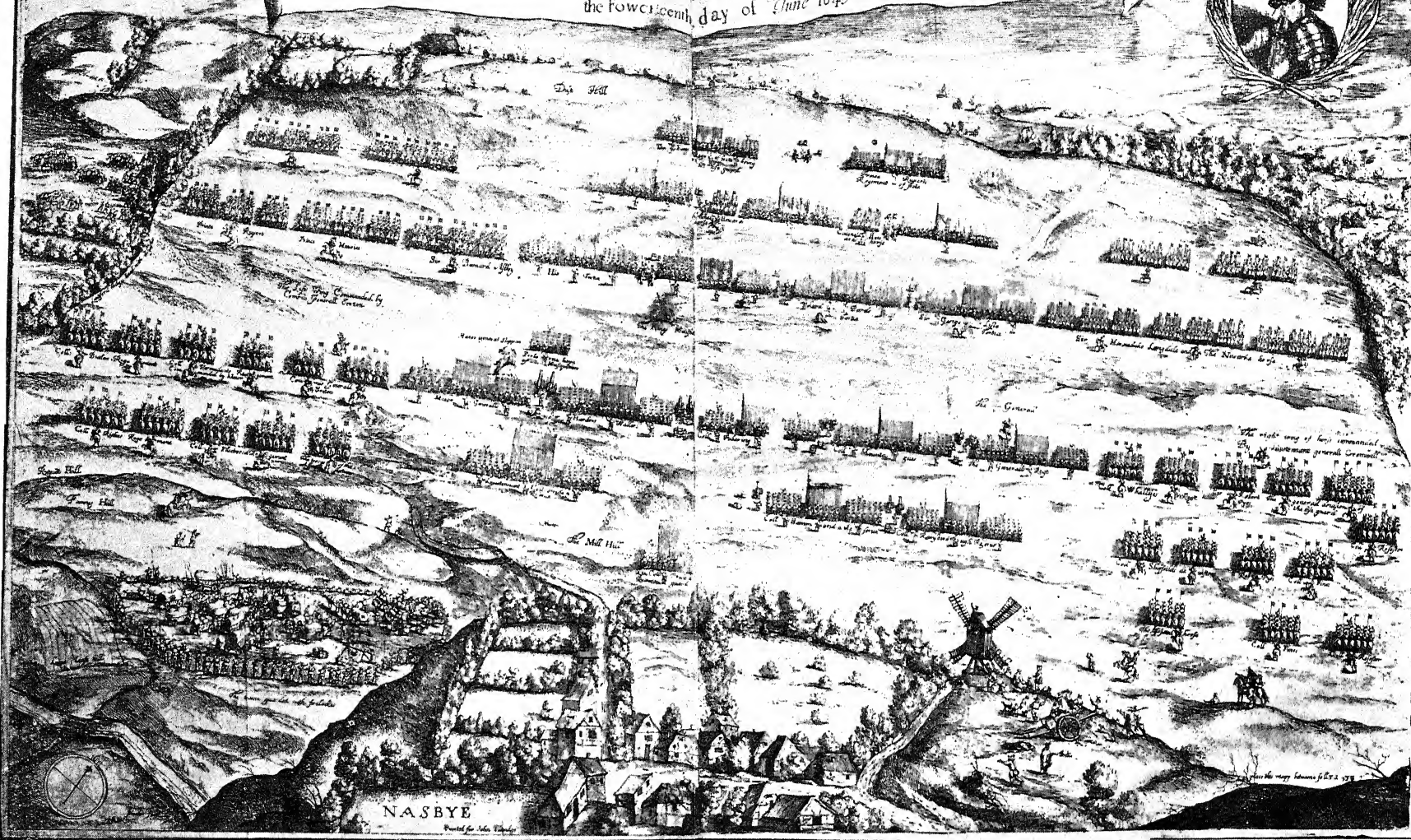
- | | |
|---|---|
| 11. Col. Hol's, which was
given Lieutenant-
General Cromwell
after Naseby fight. | 10. Col. Hammond.
11. Col. Lambert.
12. Col. Rainesborough.
With 400 pioneers. |
| 12. Col. Okey's regiment
of Dragoons, which
was 1,000 men
mounted, besides
Officers, and were
always counted the
best men of the
army. | |

"The first day of April 1645, we marched from Windsor to Reading, where we received four months pay, both horse and foot, with an order on pain of death to take nothing from the country, but what we paid for ; no, not so much as grass for our horses. From thence we marched to Newberry, from Newberry to Salisbury, from Salisbury to Dorchester, with an intention to relieve Taunton-Dean, which was closely besieged by my Lord Goring.

Being on our march, the General received order from both Houses to march back with all possible speed, and to attend the King's army which was then about Leicestershire, and to send part of his army to relieve Taunton-Dean, if they could, which was accordingly done. The horse that were commanded for that service were commanded by Col. Graves, and the foot were commanded by Col. Wielding. The party consisted of 1,400 horse and 2,000 foot.

The General marched back again with the rest of the army in all haste and came before Oxford, and lay before it 14 days, thinking to draw the King towards it, and to engage as he thought fit. But news was brought him

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE ARMIES OF HORSE AND FOOT OF HIS MAJESTIES AND
 S^t Thomas Fairfax his Excellency, as they were drawn up severall battalies, at the Battaille at NASBYE:
 the fourteenth day of June 1645



NASBYE

Printed for John Sturges

KEY

Okey's dragoons
 Prince Rupert
 Prince Maurice
 Sir Barnard Astley
 His Tertia
 The King's Rgt. of Foote being His Majesty's Life Guard
 Col. Howard
 Prince Rupert's Rgt. of Foote
 Colonel How
 The left wing commanded by Commissary-general Ireton
 Major-General Skippon
 The King's Majesty
 Lord Bard's Tertia
 Sir G. Lyle's Tertia
 Sir Marmaduke Langdale and the Newarke Horse
 Col. Butler's Regt.
 Col. Vermudard's Regt.
 Ireton's Regt.
 The Major General's Rgt.
 Sir Hardress Waller
 Col. Pickering
 Col. Montague
 The General
 The General's Regt.
 Sir R. Pye
 The right wing commanded by Lt.-General Cromwell
 The General division of the Life Guard
 Col. Riche's Regt.
 Col. Fleetwood's Regt.
 Lt. Col. Pride's Regt.
 Col. Hammond reserve
 Col. Ramsboro's reserve
 Col. Sheffield
 Col. Fines
 Col. Rossiter
 Parliamentary baggage
 The main guard with Firelocks
 Lt.-Col. Pride's Reserve

NASEBY

Note. An ardent Parliamentarian has smudged the figure of the King's Majesty.

that Leicester was taken. Forthwith we marched from thence towards Northampton. On our march Lieutenant-General Cromwell came to take his leave of the General and army, being not of the new model,¹ and a member of the House of Commons could not stay any longer without leave of both Houses of Parliament. Upon which the General writ to both Houses to desire leave for Lieutenant-General Cromwell to stay in the army, and to command as Lieutenant-General, only for one action : which was accordingly granted.

Then we came on still towards Naseby, and lay in Naseby town. The King hearing of our advancing, marched back from Harborough to meet us. About 7 a-clock in the morning the vanguards of the armies appeared each to the other, and skirmished till both armies were drawn up. The right wing of our horse was commanded by Lieutenant-General Cromwell ; the left by Commissary-General Ireton : the body of foot was led by the General and Major-General Skippon. Col. Okey's regiment of Dragoons was on the left-hand of all our horse, and lined the hedges : which did mightily annoy the King's right wing of horse, as they advanced towards us.

¹ Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War*, Vol. II, p. 200, 1889 ed., throws doubt on this, on the reasonable ground that no other contemporary writer mentions it, but he adds that Edward's was written long afterward. As will be seen, there were three periods in Edward's brief career when he could have found time to compile his story. The first of these was when, in the autumn and winter of 1646, when he was on the Trent, watching for the Scots army which never advanced south. The second period was when he was with Ormond in Cork in 1649 before the advance to Dublin. The third period was when he was in Paris in 1652-3. In Paris there was no one to jog his memory of the doings of the New Model Army, and I find it difficult to believe that so detailed an account could have been compiled from memory seven years after the events recorded. My suggestion is that Edward made full notes for the first part while on the Trent, and for the second part in Ireland and that in Paris he compiled his story from these notes and gave a copy to Clarendon, hence its appearance in the *Clarendon MSS.*

The right wing of the King's horse charged our left wing, and routed us clear beyond our carriages. The King's horse fell a plundering our waggons and gave us time to rally : but a great many of our horse went clear away to Northampton and could never be stopt. The King's foot got ground apace, upon our foot being discouraged by our horse running away, and by Major-General Skippon's being desperately wounded ; insomuch that all our foot gave ground and were in a manner running away. Cromwell seeing almost all lost, charged the King's left wing, and disordered them ; but by no means would pursue his advantage. The King's right wing, seeing their left wing of horse beat in, marched back again the same way they came. Then our left wing advanced to Cromwell's former ground and stood, being much discouraged for the loss of our Commissary-General, and Col. Bourcher, which was wounded. Our foot got heart again and stood their ground. Cromwell with his wing joined with Col. Rossiter's horse that came to us at that present, and charged the King's right wing of horse in the flank as they went by, and utterly disordered them, and pursued them to the top of the hill towards Harborough. The King's both wings of horse went clear away and never rallied. We divided our left wing of horse, that stood in Cromwell's former ground, into several bodies, and charged the King's foot that fought most manfully all this while, and forced divers of our bodies to retire. But seeing all their horse beaten out of the field, and surrounded with our horse and foot, they laid down their arms with condition not to be plundered. Presently a noise was spread among our horse, that no man must light to plunder on pain of death, and forthwith to follow the King's horse ; which accordingly we did, but very leisurely, being much discontented to leave all the plunder of the field to our foot. Certainly if there

had but 1,000 of the King's horse rallied, and charged us in our disorderly and discontented pursuit, they might without doubt have beaten us back again, and routed our foot which was richly laden with plunder and could by no means be brought together in a long time.

I here interrupt Edward to give his Colonel's account of the battle, written immediately after the event :

' After many tedious hours night and day since I saw you, and watching every night with my regiment upon these quarters having the forlorne guard every night, it pleased God that upon Saturday the 14 of this instant month between 7 and 8 of the clock in the morning, we draw neere to a place called Nasby, unto Glypsome (Clipston) Field a mile and halfe from our quarters where we had the guard the night before, and so soone as we came into the field the enemy was drawn up into a battalia ready to give us battell ; and so ready that had it not pleased the Lord of his infinite mercy to show himselfe, wee had been all cut off, for they more ready to advance upon us, before wee were drawn up into a battalia for to incounter with them ; but our noble Generall and Lieutenant Generall Cromwell, and Major General Skippon were so carefull of the great worke in hande ; as that they soone drew us up into a body, in such a manner, as that wee were presently as ready to encounter with the enemy, as the enemy was to fall upon us. . . . I was half a mile behind in a medow giving my men ammunition, and had not the Lieutenant Gen. come presently, and caused me with all speed to mount my men, and flanck our left wing, which was the Kings right wing of horse ; where was Prince Maurice, who charged at the head of his regiment, and the King himself in the next reserve charged at the head of his men, but by that time I could get my men to light, and deliver

up their horses in a little close, the enemy drew towards us which my men perceiving, they with shooting and rejoycing received them, although they were incompassed on the one side with the Kings horse, and on the other side with foot and horse to get the close ; but it pleased God that wee beat off both horse and the foot on the left, and the right wing, and cleared the field, and kept our ground : When as the Kings horse had driven our men a mile before them on the left wing at their first comming on ; then wee discovered many of the Kings regiment, by reason that they came somewhat neare unto us ; before ever they discharged a pistoll at any horse, and had not wee by God providence been there, there had been but a few of Colonell Butlers regiment left, after this we gave up our selves for lost men, but wee resolved every man to stand to the last and presently upon it, God of his providence ordered it so, that our right wing, which was Colonel Cromwell his regiment, drave the enemy before them, which I perceiving (after one houres battail) caused all my men to mount and to charge into their foot which accordingly they did, and took all their colours, and 500 prisoners, besides what wee killed, and all their armes. After this the King his horse drew up into a body againe : and then I drew up my dragoons, and charged the Kings regiment of horse, and they faced about and run away, and never made any stay till they came to Leicester, and we pursued them within three miles and a halfe of Leicester, which was about 15 miles from the place where we fought : wee took, as neare as we can guesse, between 4 and 5,000 men with as many horse, all their ordinance, bag and baggage, and there was as we were informed, but two foot men went into Leicester ; the King him selfe very hardly escaped . . .¹

¹ Letter from Colonel Okey to a citizen of London, 1645.

Edward goes on :

We leisurely continued the pursuit till we came within 2 miles of Leicester, where we found part of the King's horse drawn up ; but they never offered to charge us, nor we them, but stood and looked on each other till night came on. They marched into Leicester, and we were called back again.

That day Sir John Gell was marching towards us with 1,500 horse, and might easily have stopped all the King's party as they were going to Leicester : for which neglect he was by Cromwell roundly chid, and ever after suspected to be a well-wisher to the King's party.

Within two days after the battle, we came before the town of Leicester with our whole army ; hearing that the King was gone towards Wales with all his horse, we lay down before the town, with a resolution to take it before we went further. The town being pestered with abundance of unnecessary people that staid behind the King, and a great many that were wounded at Naseby, and the wanting of provisions both for man and horse caused the Governor to surrender the town upon honourable conditions.

After the town was surrendered, all our horse were sent to refresh for 2 or 3 days. Then a Council was called, and it was resolved that we should follow the King, and not suffer him to draw to an head again. That very night there came a member of the House of Commons to give thanks to the General and army for their good service, with a command from both Houses to march forthwith for the relief of Taunton-Dean,¹ which could not possibly hold out three weeks longer, and to encourage us thereunto, brought with him a dispensation for Lieutenant-General Cromwell to stay 40 days longer in the army.

By this may be observed, that when the King took Leicester, if he had but marched Northwards, or for the

¹ Goring had returned to Taunton and again invested the place.

Associated Counties, or for Wales, or had kept himself from fighting but for one month, we were all ruined : our new moulded soldiers were all suspected for the loss of their old officers ; so that it was the only advantage we could have in the world, that of uniting our officers and soldiers together by engaging them in so seasonable a time as that was. And as I have said before, if the King had but kept from engaging his army but one month (which he might easily have done), we were certainly undone. The army in the West would be lost, with Taunton-Dean, and all the West left clearly to the King. All the North would have done their endeavour for him ; and so would the Associated Counties : and I believe the Scots would have declared for him, or at least stood neuters ; but that the change of that unfortunate battle did harden their hearts. Wales was then in a gallant condition under my Lord Gerrard's command.

Forthwith we began our march for the West, and our horse marched after the rate of 20 or 30 miles a day, as fast as they could conveniently march. When the King's army in the West under the command of the Lord Goring heard of our speedy advancing, they drew off from the siege of Taunton-Dean and marched to meet us. The first place that both armies appeared to each other was at Long-Sutton in Somersetshire, where there was a river¹ between us, so that we could not engage each other, nor could not conveniently get over the river without great disadvantage. But that night news was brought the General that Somerton was quitted, which was the strongest passage on the river. So the next morning we marched over the river, all except Major-General Massey's brigade, that newly came to us, and staid on that side of the river.

¹ The river Carey.

Then my Lord Goring marched back to Langport, where he attended the coming of our army ; and sent the greatest part of his horse through Langport to a place called Illmore ; it seems, to divert our design of marching directly towards him. But Major-General Massey's brigade and Sir Robert Pye's regiment being on that side of the river, having intelligence of that party of the King's horse at Illmore, advanced towards them, where they found all their horses at grass, and some of the men asleep, some a-swimming, and the rest carelessly walking in the fields. The place where our men were to enter into the meadow was no broader than where two horses could enter at a time ; so that the greatest part of the King's horse got away towards Langport where the rest of their army lay ; except 4 or 500 horses that were taken in the very field that their masters could not recover. The thanks of that neglect of guarding, among ourselves, we gave to one Lieutenant-General Porter, that was then Lieutenant-General to the Lord Goring.

The next day¹ our General marched towards Langport town, where we found the Lord Goring drawn up, with the greatest part of his horse drawn up in the rear of his foot, as we conceived ; and his foot advancing towards us and our foot towards them ; there was an hot dispute for an hour. We observed the King's horse drawing off by degrees towards Bridgewater : and then our horse pressed on among their foot and dispersed them, and fell in the rear of the King's horse, killed and took many of them ; the rest we forced to Bridgewater. Two or three days afterwards we appeared before Bridgewater with our whole army. My Lord Goring, with what party he had, marched towards Exeter. We lay still before Bridgewater. There was part of the army sent to block

¹ July 10.

up Bruntonrust, and other little garrisons about Bridgewater, and in a few days took them.

Bridgewater held out for some weeks reasonably. The out-town being stormed and taken, the rest was given up on honourable conditions ; so likewise was Sherburn. From Sherburn there was a party of horse and dragoons sent towards Bath, under the command of Col. Rich, to get intelligence where P. Rupert was, or what party he had ; he being then about Bristol. Col. Rich hearing that there was no strong party then at Bath, came very nigh the town, being then commanded by Sir Thomas Bridges, as I take it. Advancing nigh the town, he sent a party of his dragoons in the night to the gate and set fire to the gate. The party within, not being able as they thought to maintain the town, beat a parley, and had conditions the next day to march for Bristol.

I again interrupt Edward to give Sprigge's account of the taking of Bath, which describes the methods of the Dragoons :

' Colonel Rich facing the town with horse and dragoons, summoned the town, the Governour refused to surrender. Towards evening, our Dragoons, commanded by Colonel Okey, were drawn neer the bridge, and crept on their bellies over it, to the Gate, seized on the small ends of the enemies Musquets, which they put through the loop-holes of the Gate, and cried to the enemy to take quarter, which so affrighted the enemy that they ran to their work which flanked the bridge, and left their Musquets behind them as of no use to them, so of as little to us. Our men instantly fired the Gate, and became masters of the bridge ; upon which the Deputy-Governour sent for a Parley, and upon the Treaty the town was yielded upon Articles.'^x

^x Sprigge, *Anglia Redwiva*, p. 76.

Edward goes on :

Bath being taken, all our army came thither, and Major-General Massey was left behind about Bridgewater, to wait on the Lord Goring's horse. Then all our army advanced towards Bristol, and lay two miles from the town for 3 or 4 days. Then we came near the town and lay round it, without any manner of works or trenches before us ; only trees cut down and the highways blocked up : and where Col. Wiolding's brigade was on the other side of the walls, he intrenched himself round, and was much strengthened on that side by the Somersetshire Clubmen that came in to strengthen that side. We lay to for a matter of a month, and all that while expected only when they would sally, with but our horse to perform all duty. There was no remarkable action all this while ; only P. Rupert sallied out one misty morning towards Dordam down, came behind our guards without being discovered, and came up to the very downs, but did no harm, only took Col. Okey prisoner, and so went back again. As I afterwards heard, the Prince's horse¹ at that time was commanded by one Sir Horatio Carey ; which I must confess was very ill managed. He came up with his forlorn, where a whole brigade of our horse were on foot. We were so far from mounting, that most of us ran to a little hedge that was between us and the enemy, and stood there, till some of our fellows got on horseback : then Sir Horatio drew off again, without charging at all ; which if he had, he might without loss of a man have ruined all our brigade.

Seeing there was no hopes to get the town but by plain force, it was prepared on all sides for the storming of it : which was after this manner. About 12 of the clock at night, it was ordered, that we should fall on round the town at the going off of some pieces of cannon of ours.

¹ The Prince of Wales reached Bristol on March 6.

We were all beaten off with the loss of many of our men ; yet we were commanded to go on again, and were beaten off the second time ; only some of our foot got over the line nigh Prynhill fort, and made good that part of the line, till our pioneers came and made way for our horse : and by break of day with 500 horse we got within the line. In the meanwhile Col. Wiolding and all his brigade were beaten off from entring the other side : and our foot that were on that side which we first entred, ran confusedly into that side of the town. When the King's men saw us, when it was daylight, got within the line, they all ran off : some ran to the great fort, where the Prince was, and the rest got within the town ; only some men that were kept together by one Col. Taylor which fought nobly, and when all his men were lost, he mounted on horse back, and charged clear through our horse, to the admiration of us all, and refused quarter, getting from us a good many wounds. Some of our Officers took pity on the Gentleman, and did as much as they could to save his life, and disarmed him, but shortly after he died. There was likewise one Major Smith, who was Major to that Colonel which commanded the men that were in Prynhill fort, that fought most gallantly. He and all his men were slain in the fort, and the fort taken. When it was bright daylight, the Prince perceived from the great fort, that our men were got within the line, and that Prynhill fort was lost : he beat a parley and sent to treat with our General ; which was presently accepted and conditions granted, that the Prince should march out with bag and baggage.¹

I have heard the Prince much condemned for the loss of that city, but certainly they were much to blame. First, let them consider that the town was entered by plain force with the loss of much blood ; and then, the

¹ Bristol surrendered on September 11. Okey was then released.

Prince had nothing to keep but the great fort and the castle. Perchance he might hold out for some weeks, and then of necessity he must have lost all his horse, which was in all 800 ; and then he had no expectation of any relief at all. Let all this be considered, and no man can blame him. Besides, if all those men were lost, as they must of necessity be, there was no hopes of getting an army in the field for the King : and (as I have heard) those very men were the beginning of that army, that my Lord Astley lost at Stow in the Would.

When the Prince was marched for Oxford with all his men, we were sent to quarters westwards of Bristol. Then Lieutenant-General Cromwell was sent with part of the army to take Berkeley castle, Winchester castle, and Basinghouse ; which accordingly he did, and came back again to the rest of the army, which lay still between Bristol and Bath.

Whilst our army thus lay still there was a petition presented to both Houses in the name of all the officers of the Army representing the grievances of the several troops and regiments, complaining that pay was not paid them according to the agreement of the New Model nor any satisfaction given them for their old arrears nor any convenient care taken for the sick and wounded men, nor the regiments recruited and many such like things mentioned in the petition which the Army was resolved to have repaired before they would march, which put both Houses in a great puzzle. There was an officer of the Army which was then but a captain of Cromwell's Regiment called Captain John Reynolds and one of those that was to present the petition in the behalf of the Army, presented also a private petition in the names of other officers of the Army humbly desiring that the Lt. General Crumwell might have his commission for Lt. General of the Army, which, if the House would be pleased to doe,

it would be an acceptable pleasing to the whole Army that they would be contented to march notwithstanding all other impediments. This last petition was not known to above 6 or 7 officers of the Army and some are of opinion that the General himself was ignorant of it.

The Houses glad of an opportunity to send so much money as would quiet the Army, were well contented and sent him his commission presently. Order was given for the Army to march after long exhortation on our arrears that we would not then dispute the matter but refer it to a fitter opportunity. However all our officers much discontented with this underhand dealing know not how to help themselves.¹

All this time Major-General Massey lay with his brigade about Bridgewater and Taunton-Dean, to attend the motion of Lord Goring's army that lay about Tiverton and Exeter. Then all our army advanced towards Tiverton, which was then a garrison for the King and commanded by Sir Gilbert Talbot. The town being quitted and the castle only left, our foot were placed in the town and our horse were sent towards Crediton : then the King's army drew back further westward. Our foot lay some days at Tiverton before they could get the castle : at last they got it, partly by force, and partly by treachery. A garrison was left in the castle and all our foot advanced to Crediton ; so that we blocked up Exeter quite round, thinking that the King's army would endeavour to relieve it. There we lay for the space of a month : the country was miserably oppressed by the King's army, and all our men were to pay for what they had on pain of death ; so

¹ Captain John Reynolds, afterward Colonel Sir John Reynolds, was a devoted follower of Cromwell. We meet him again later. There is no record that these petitions ever reached Parliament, but on December 29, 1645, Parliament voted £30,000 for Fairfax's army (*Lords' Journal*, Vol. VIII, p. 73) and on January 26, 1646, Cromwell's commission as Lieutenant-General was renewed for six months (*Ibid.*, p. 127).

that all the country was generally affected to our party, by reason of the good carriage of our men and that they paid for what they took. Horse and dragoons were sent to garrison all the strong houses about Chudleigh. There was no remarkable action all this while and both armies lay still ; only upon our advance towards Totnes, we surprised almost all the horses that kept guard at Bodie-Trasie,¹ they being securely lodged in the town, not fearing the advancing of our army in that miserable frosty and cold weather. There were taken 600 horses ; but most of the men got away over ditches and hedges. Major-General Massey was left behind with his brigade about Barnstable ; and Sir Hardress Waller was left with three regiments of foot and a regiment of horse at Crediton to block up Exeter on that side. The King's army lay then at Torrington, and (as we were informed) gave out, that they would relieve Exeter, and march through that City towards the East-country ; which they might have done without any great resistance. We were afterwards informed, that they changed their resolutions and were resolved to linger out that winter in certain of their western garrisons, which were then numerous in those parts.

Upon which intelligence, our General would lose no time, but resolved to try by what means he might engage the King's army to fight on his advance. It was thought fit that we should advance from Totnes near Dartmouth, only to see what the King's army would do, which lay close at Torrington, and took no notice of our being so nigh Dartmouth, being confident that our army would attempt nothing on that town, which was so well provided to receive us, if in case our General would be so rash to attempt any thing against it. There was 400 horse sent from the King's army under Major Ducrocke (Du Cros) a Frenchman, with a command to get into the town of

¹ Bovey Tracey, January 9, 1646.

Dartmouth if he could, and to trouble our army out of that town, as often as he could. He ordered his design so well, that he got by our army in the night and got into the town, which was provided before with 2,000 good foot, townsmen and soldiers. We lay with our army 2 or 3 days within half a mile of the town ; and Admiral Batten with a squadron of ships came and anchored as nigh the harbour mouth as he durst. In the meantime word was brought our General, that the late horse which got into the town, and the Governor Sir Hugh Pollard (as I take it) could not agree, and was resolved to put them away ; which was accordingly done. The very same night Major Ducrockemarched away with his party thro' part of our quarters, and marched for Exeter, without the loss of one man.

The next morning news was brought our General, that the horse had left the Town. Presently he calls a Council of war, and propounds the storming of the town. Our officers were surprized at the motion, and some of them spoke that it was impossible that any good could be done in that attempt. Their reason was this, that the town was well fortified with a good line, and many good forts, and had 2,000 to man them ; and that besides, if it were their good fortune to gain the line and some of the outer forts, they were nothing the nigher to gain the town ; for that in every corner of the streets there were block-houses, that so well answered one another, with an hundred and odd pieces of ordnance mounted in them, that if they were all now in the streets, those block-houses would certainly beat them out with the loss of all their men. The General made answer, he wanted nothing for the gaining of the town but their good endeavours ; and that it was true the difficulties were great, yet he made no doubt but to be master of the place as soon as he attempted it. It was agreed, that the next night after it should be stormed.

Order was sent to Admiral Batten to land 500 of his seamen presently on that side the town which is called Kingswere (Kingsworth) fort, and to receive orders from the Officer that commanded on that side, which was accordingly done. About 12 of the clock at night the army was to fall on, upon the firing of 3 pieces of cannon which were placed for that purpose. Before it was night, the army of foot drew as nigh the town as they could conveniently for shot, and the horse all drew back a mile or two, except those few that were to attend the fortune of the foot : and the officer that commanded Kingswere side, had orders not to fall on on that side when the guns went off, by reason his party was weak, there being only two troops of horse and 200 firelocks with the seamen. His orders were only to alarm that side when the army fell on the other side. At the appointed time the signal was given, and the soldiers gave a shout and fell on : the service was hot for the time, but continued not long, for our soldiers got over the line with less opposition than they expected. In the mean while the Officer that was on Kingswere side¹ did according to his orders, and when he came to alarm them on that side, he had better success than he expected ; for when he came nigh to the turnpike, he found the place was quitted, and so entered without any opposition from those that guarded that post, and marched up to the fort, which was then commanded by Sir Henry Keane. The soldiers on the other side came into the town so confusedly and unwarily that it was thought if they had but once fired their guns in their block-houses, they might have easily killed all our men. The Governor himself was wounded and retired to his castle, so the next morning had conditions ; and so had Sir Henry Keane out of his fort. That morning we had 1,500 prisoners ; great many of them took up arms

¹ Probably Edward himself ; the two troops were from Okey's Dragoons.

with us, and those of them that were Cornish men, our General released and sent them to their several homes, promising never to bear arms against the Parliament. To each of them he gave half a crown to bear their charges ; which took so much with the country where they went, that it lessened much their affections to the King's service.¹

The taking of that town much refreshed our army, they being before almost quite out of heart. After our army had rested a week or nine days thereabouts, we then marched back again towards Exeter, and came to Chudleigh (Chumleigh). There a Council of war was called, and it was agreed on, that the army should be sent to their winter quarters, which was accordingly done ; and most of our horse were sent back as far as Somersetshire, and our foot were placed about Chudleigh and Crediton. Major General Massey's brigade was placed about Barnstable : all our army was settled for that winter, and so lay still in our quarters till we had our recruits from London both for horse and foot.

Our General got intelligence out of the King's army from the Prince of Wales his secretary² to this purpose, that there were great divisions in the King's army, and that there was a falling out between the Lord Hopton and Sir Richard Grenville ; that the Prince was intending privately to leave the Kingdom ; that if our army would advance speedily, and take the present advantage they might have by reason of those distractions, he might without doubt have his desire. A Council of war was called and the letter read, but first the name was torne out. The business was debated a long time : the officers

¹ Dartmouth was stormed on the night of January 18-19.

² The Prince of Wales's secretary was Robert Long. The accusation that he was a traitor was repeated later, and led, as will be seen, to a conflict between him and Edward. Clode altered this passage, apparently to avoid reviving an old scandal.

of horse were all of an opinion, that if the horse were called from their quarters it would ruin the army ; besides, they had no confidence in him that wrote that letter. Our General assured the Officers, that all was true, and that he was sure that the design was sure and without danger. It was agreed that the army should rendezvous, and that about Crediton.

When we met, it was ordered that all our train should be left at Crediton, and what ammunition was thought fit for the use of the army was to be carried on horses backs, Sir Hardress Waller was ordered to be left with three regiments of foot and one of horse to continue the blocking up of Exeter. We marched from Crediton with all convenient speed towards Torrington, where my Lord Hopton lay with the King's army. Our army came within a mile or therabouts, before we were discovered by any of the King's army, and drew up hard by the town ; the King's army drew up behind the town, barricaded the town so well, and cut down trees in the lanes, that there was no coming nigh the town but in one place, which was so well manned and fortified, that there was no possibility of forcing that passage. The forlorn hope of our army was drawn out, which consisted of a 1,000 musketeers, 500 horse and 500 dragoons. These advanced nigh the town, as nigh as they could. Night drew on ; our forlorn had orders to stand and make good that ground till the next morning. Both armies lay still very quietly till it was about twelve of the clock at night. Our Lieutenant-General came down to see our forlorn, and observed the King's army (as he conceived) draw off, and made our forlorn believe that the enemy was drawing off from their barricadoes. Presently he commanded 40 or 50 dragoons to steal up to the barricadoes to see what the enemy was a-doing. They crept up close to the enemy's turnpike : they were much

mistaken in their enterprize ; for the enemy lay close till our men came up by them and then gave our men such a volley, that they soon repented them of their rashness. The rest of our dragoons that were drawn out for the forlorn, seeing their fellows so engaged, went on without command of our Lieutenant-General to disengage their comrades. Our forlorn hope of foot seeing all the dragoons engaged, thought themselves bound in honour (for all the Lieut.-General could say to the contrary) to help the dragoons. They were both so far engaged at last, that they could not come off without some danger to our army, if the enemy would pursue their advantage : therefore our General thought it fit to have them seconded with part of the army, which was presently done. Our General marched himself with that part of the army, and left orders with the Lieutenant-General to second him with the rest of the army, if need should require.

He came in so seasonable a time, when our forlorn was giving ground. His being there in person soon encouraged our men, that they fell on again with a great deal of resolution, and forced the enemy's turnpike. When our foot got the turnpike, they made a stand and made way for some horse to enter, where the General himself was in the head of them. That party of horse came as far as the market place without any great difficulty. All the enemy's foot ran out of town to their horse which was drawn up all behind the town. They once sent in a party of horse to beat ours out, but could no good on it. Our foot ran up and down the town confusedly to get plunder. Some prisoners they took and brought them to be secured in the Church, where there were fourscore and odd barrels of powder. I know not by what accident it was, but the powder was fired and the Church blown up, and all the men destroyed that were in it. The terrible noise that this made so astonished our men that they were all

amazed, and knew not of a good while what the matter was. Our General escaped strangely at that time ; for a sheet of lead that was blown off the Church, fell on the next man to the General and killed both man and horse.¹ The enemy took the present advantage of our distraction and drew off Westwards ; which they could never have done, if it had not been for that accident, by reason of a narrow pass that was behind them, where three horse could not go abreast. Then it being day-light, our men recollected, and being put in order again, expected when the enemy would charge into the town : but news being brought that they were retreated, order was given to our horse to advance through the town, and to draw up in the same ground that the enemy was gone from. In that fight we lost about 3 or 400 men, besides those that were lost in the Church. Of the enemy few prisoners of note were taken. My Lord Hopton was like to have been lost in the heat of the fight, his horse being shot and himself wounded : had his officers followed his example, it would have been a difficult matter for us to have entered the town.

A small party was sent to see where the enemy lay : they brought back intelligence, that the enemy was gone with all haste towards Cornwall, and that their horse marched so fast that they outmarched their foot, and that many of their foot were scattered up and down the country. Our General would not pursue them at present, fearing to overmatch his men ; but presently gave orders that the foot should be quartered in the town, and that the horse should be sent to rest in the next convenient towns. There we lay for four or five days : then it was resolved, that we should follow the enemy to Cornwall, and that Major General Massey should stay still before Barnstable, and that the siege of Exeter should be

¹ Torrington was stormed on February 16.

strengthened with more of the army than was already there.

Our army then advanced towards Cornwall. There we heard that the enemy's headquarters were at Launceston, and that they had left 1,000 horse and some foot to guard the river.¹ There was 400 horse and dragoons, and 1,000 foot drawn out of our army under the command of Col. Bourcher, with a command to force the passage ; which was accordingly done, without any great opposition. Then all our army came over and marched to Okehampton and stayed there a day or two. From thence we marched towards Launceston, thinking to meet the enemy there : but they retired back to Bodmin with an intention to fight us there, (as we heard). That being a plain country, and they much stronger than we in horse, they might perhaps have been too hard for us, or at least break through us towards Exeter.

From Launceston we marched towards Bodmin. About Bodmin-bridge we took some few troops that lay carelessly in their quarters, belonging to Sir James Smith's brigade. There we heard that the enemy the night before retired from Bodmin towards Truro. Then we came to Bodmin² and lay there 4 or 5 days, to hear and observe what the enemy did. We all much wondered what the enemy meant, and why they retreated so far back into a neck of land where their horse could not be of so much use to them as in that champaigne country about Bodmin. At last we heard, the reason of their retreating so far back was, the sudden reinforcement of foot they were to have out of Brittany in France, and from my Lord of Worcester who was in Ireland, and writ (as we heard) to that purpose.³

¹ The Taw.

² March 2.

³ The first part printed by Carte ends here. I have thought it convenient to keep together the story of the military operations. F.M.

We were soone enformed of that from Ireland by a small frigott that came into Padstow that was sent by my Lord of Woster (Worcester), with letters to the Prince. The frigott came in with that confidence being assured the place was within the King's quarters, their men came on shore without asking anything of the Inhabitantes who was quartered there by chance; some of our horsemen being in that towne examined the men and found them to be Irish, wch presently confessed they came from Waterford in Ireland, they seized upon the seamen and got aboard, the frigott being run aground there, they tooke one, Captain Allen wch had the command of the vessell, him with a packett was brought to Bodmin to our Generall. By those letters we understood that there was noe daunger of any Foote coming out of Ireland, for in those letters was mencioned the want of Shipping and moneys before any Foote could be had from thence, then there was noe other feare then that of France and to prevent that daunger there was order sent to Admirall Batten to hover from the Land's End to the Coast of Brittany; then our Generall resolved to advance towards Turowe (Truro); in our march the first day from Bodman our forlorne of Horse encountred wth a partie of the Enimies wch were commanded by Major Generall Web, both parties mett and fought nobly. At last the King's partie being over numbred was forst to give ground and leave the field in some disorder; only the Major Generall himselfe charged wth an undaunted curage through all our partie and in charging back agayne his horse was killed and himself wounded in severall places wth all those that stuck to him either slayne or taken, he being at last after a long fight on foote forst to submitt. The second day we mett with their Commissioners that came to treat which was very strange to us all, yet our General would not heare of a Treaty till

he came to Trewrowe where the King's Army then lay. First it was agreed that the King's army should draw back Westward from Trurow and that ours should quarter there. Allsoe it was agreed that their should be a seasasion of armes for six days, dureing wch tyme the Commissioners of both Armies were to sitt att Trurow to agree upon the Articles ; for all this our Generall had noe greate confidence in this treaty feareing least the King's Army should slip by them as they might easily doe, but to prevent that daunger he sent some horse and Dragoones back agayne to Bodman wth an order that all the trees should be cut downe behind Bodman bridge and in all the Cuntry thereabouts to stopp the King's horse if they came that way, in two or three dayes.

That doubt was cleared for our Commissioners and theirs agreed thus : First that the King's Army should disband and their Souldiers leaveing their horse should retourne to their several homes, and the Officers to march to their severall homes wth their horses and armes. The King's Army were to lay downe their armes by Brigade on severall dayes till their was a Regement of our horse that convoyed them away to their severall cuntries.¹ When all the King's Army was disbanded there was nothing more for our Army to doe in those partes ; a Councell of Warr was called and it was thought fitt that the Army should march towards Exeter and that Collonel Fortesque should stay in that Cuntry with two Regements of Foote and 3 Troopes of horse for the takeing in of Pendenis and the Mount. Our Generall with the rest of the Army came before Exetter, the Governor thereof, which was Sir John Berkley, seeing our Army come before it and knowing that the King's Army was disbanded with all the nessecity he was reduced unto for want of provisions and with all that they had noe

¹ This capitulation was concluded at Truro, March 12.

hopes of releefe, hee was forst to surrender the citty upon honourable condicions ; soe was Bastable (Barnstaple) deliver'd upon the same condicions ; all our horse were sent towards Oxford under the command of Commissary Generall Ireton, our Generall with the Lieutenant Generall stay with all the foote at Exeter to refresh them awhile. The Commissary lay wth all the horse round Oxford and continually on duty, for the Kinge was then in the Cytty with Prince Rupert wth a considerable party of horse as we heard, who were resolved to fall out upon some of our quarters, wch made us all every night to expect their coming.

After the generall had settled the businesse^s of the west he marched wth all the foote towards Oxford. Before he came within three or fower dayes march of that Cytty the Kinge gott out privately in the night only wth two or three persons wth him.¹ It was told the Comissary generall that the Kinge was gone for London, and was invited thither by the Presbiterian party of the House and Cytty, and was encouraged to it by the Scotts army that lay then before Newarke. I knowe not whether that report was true or noe, but I am sure that was the first pretended cause of jelousey that was betwene the Independant and Presbyterian party, and to make the army the more assured of this report it was credibly said that the King came first to London and was conveyed from thence to the Scotts army. This bred noe small division betwixt the Presbiterian and Independant officers of the army. The generall came up with the foote before Oxford, and placed them as conveniently as hee could, as above the horse and Major Generall Massey's Brigade was to lye about Farington. We continued soe for the space of a moneth and the foote entrencht Themselves a good distance from the Towne.

¹ April 27.

Collonell Whaley wth his regimt. of horse and 2 regmts of foote was sente to block up Woster wth the assistance of Collonell Morgan the governr of Glossester. It was just at that tyme the black lyst was presented to the leut Generall, wch was the names of all those officers in the army that were Presbiterians. It was brought privately and presented by Lieutent generall Wattson, wch was a most pernitious factious fellow. He was backed by many of the cheefest of the Army and particularly by the Comissary generall. The Generall was ignorant of it, and knew not what it meant when one Major Fincher Quarter Mr Generall of the Horse discovered it unto him, and told him of what daungerous consequence would be if this liste came to the knowledg of those officers whose names were written on it. The generall made answer that for his parte he made noe difference of their opinions but was confident that all his officers were faythfull to the Parliamt, and that the Lieut Generall as he conceived would not doe any thing to the prejudice of any man that wist well to the Parliamt or army.

The Qr Mr Generall was noe way satisfied wth this answer but was resolved to acquaint his frends in the Parliamt House, wth this liste and of the new order that was given out by the Leut Generall, wch was Liberty of Conscience as they caled it to all that pretend to have the guift of the spiritt in preaching or expounding. Both houses tooke this soe haynously that their was an order sente to our generall that none should preach or teach in the Army but those that are lawfully called to it by the Assembly of Divines. This order was no sooner come but executed, but to the greate greefe of the leut. Generall and his faction ; yet they desembled the matter soe well that they seemed to take no notice of it at present. In the meane while the seige went on, and the towne being streightned for provisions yet obstinate would not

surrender. There were not those wanting in our Army that spread abroad that the king with the Scots army would relieve that City, and that the Presbyterian party of the Houses of Lords and Commons would invite him to it. Many papers to this purpose were spread abroad amongst the soldiers, but to no effect, for the Presbyterians had much the stronger part in the army; beside Major General Massie's brigade would back them upon any occasion to that purpose.

Colonel Raynsburrow was sent with two regiments of horse and two of foot to strengthen the siege of Worcester that was but slightly blocked up before by Colonel Whaley. Whaley was called back to the siege of Oxford, he being then accounted a Presbyterian. At last necessity compelled the City to treat. Commissioners were ordered on both sides; after long debate they agreed and the City was surrendered upon honorable conditions,¹ so was Worcester, Farington and Wallingford, and all soe Ragland (Radcot) that was besieged by foot of ours sent from the siege of Oxford: our army having then nothing to do were sent to quarters, some to Wales, some to the Associate Counties, another part were quartered about Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, and Herefordshire. Major General Massie's brigade were sent to Dorsetshire, Somersetshire and Wiltshire to quarter.

The first of Cromwell's stratagems was to get the Major General's brigade to disband under pretence to ease the Kingdom, though they offered their service to Ireland and would willingly have gone with that money they had at their disbanding, but Cromwell prevented their desires and spoke openly in the House that he would carry as many of the new modelled army to that Kingdom as the Parliament thought fitt and that he would disband the rest if they pleased. This motion of

¹ June 24.

his tooke off all jealousiey from Cromwell and the rest of the army : presently order was given for Massie's men to disband, wch was presently done. Presently after happened the suddayne death of the Earle of Essex,¹ wch Cromwell tooke soe much to hearte in his outward apperance that he was seene by some to cry and tear his hayre, though it was judged by many that hee contrived his death ; at this tyme the King was at Newcastle wth the Scotts, his frends dayly resorting thither, wch gave greate cause of suspition of the Scotts and credibly confirmed in our army that the Scotts would declare for the Kinge. To prevent further danger there were two regmts of horse and Oakey's dragoons sent to quarter all along the River Trent ; and to examin all that came that way northwards."

This is a plain, straightforward soldierly story of the operations of Fairfax's army. There have been many more vivid accounts both by young officers and by men in the ranks of their experiences in war. These are generally concerned with personal adventures and the deeds of their regiments. The remarkable feature in Edward's story is that he knew so much about the operations of the army as a whole and of its several parts and that he knew the reasons for these operations. His story is surprisingly accurate for one written soon after the event. I wonder how many young officers to-day know the names of the commanding officers in the brigade serving alongside their own, or even in their own brigade ! Edward must have had an enquiring mind, and a good memory, and have kept his eyes and ears open. The first part of his story was probably written, or the material for it collected, when he was on the Trent watching for an advance by the Scots. It happened that

¹ September 16.

Fairfax with the bulk of his army joined the cavalry on that river early in the autumn, and the General made Nottingham his headquarters. Edward would then have had opportunity to check his memory with the experiences of others.

He gives us details not to be found in other contemporary accounts, in particular there is nowhere else such a description as he gives of the confusion in the Parliamentary army after Naseby, confusion very natural after the first battle of a newly raised army, in which, as he says, the men had not had time to get to know their officers. This confusion supplies the reason why it took the Parliamentary army two and a half days, against trifling opposition, to cover the fourteen miles from the battlefield of Naseby to Leicester.

Edward clearly had not a high opinion of the discipline of the New Model after its first battle. He had seen its left wing defeated before his eyes, and the aftermath of even temporary defeat is not a pleasant sight. There is this in his suggestion that if Charles had not been so hasty the Parliamentary army would have disintegrated ; it contained a large number of pressed men, and it is possible that, if they had been marched far from their homes, desertion would have set in as it did in the old army. Be that as it may, it is certain that Charles made a mistake in advancing when he did. The Royalist success in the South-west, Montrose's victories, and the prospect of help from Ireland, were fuel for his ever ready optimism. If he had waited till Fairfax was deeply committed in Somersetshire, he had a good chance of getting to Reading first and of cutting Fairfax's communications with London. As it was, by advancing before Fairfax had left Dorsetshire, he warned Parliament in time for it to retrieve the blunder it had made in sending the whole of Fairfax's army Westward.

CHAPTER IV

THE QUARREL BETWEEN THE ARMY AND PARLIAMENT

ON January 30, 1647, the Scottish Army at Newcastle, having received two instalments, each of £100,000, of the £400,000 which the English Parliament had agreed to pay on account of their expenses, handed over Charles to the English Commissioners, and marched back over the Border. The King made slow progress southwards, during which he was received everywhere with respect, and in many places with enthusiasm. He entered Nottingham, where he had first raised his standard in the Civil War, with all that dignity of which he was a master. With the withdrawal of the Scots, the task of Okey's Dragoons on the Trent was ended, and it is probable that the regiment was drawn into Nottingham to the rest of the army. I hazard the guess that Edward there had his first sight of Charles, and that with this began his change of mind. Fairfax went to meet Charles, escorted him into Nottingham, and then sent him on to Holmby.

The King's release by the Scots was the signal for the beginning of a reaction in his favour, which spread, in varying degree, to all three kingdoms. In each a party, and in England more than one party, wanted, from differing motives, to secure the King as the head of the particular form of new order which it desired.

In Ireland the Papal Nuncio Rinuccini, with Glamorgan as his tool, and the priests as his eager servants, had, by the autumn of 1646, got control of the Kilkenny Council. His policy was to drive the English out of Ireland, to put the Roman Catholic Church back into

the position it held before the Reformation, and to maintain it by means of an alliance with a Roman Catholic Continental power, preferably France. This programme frightened the Anglo-Irish Catholics, the more so because it was enthusiastically supported by the native Irish ; they feared that their religion would not outweigh their origin, and that they would be swept out with the English planters. They had no desire to be separated from England, and had come to the conclusion that they would be much worse off under the government of priests or Puritans than under that of an English King.

Ormond, in particular, could not stomach Rinuccini's policy, but he had not the means to oppose it effectively ; for his troops were unpaid, badly equipped, and in a state of mind which was near mutiny. He saw the grave danger to England of help coming to the Irish Catholics from the Continent, and was determined to do everything possible to prevent that. He therefore sent an offer to the English Parliament that he would, with the King's consent, either take command of any troops sent to him and use them with his own to oppose the Papal Nuncio, or would resign in favour of someone else. Parliament refused to refer the offer to the King, and Ormond then withdrew it ; instead he opened negotiations designed to bring the Royalists in Ireland and the more moderate of the followers of the Kilkenny Council together in opposition both to the Papal Nuncio and to the Puritans. If these led to no very positive result, they at least prevented Rinuccini from capturing Dublin before June 7, on which day Michael Jones landed in the Irish capital with 600 horse and 1,400 foot, bearing a commission from Parliament appointing him to command in Leinster.

The English Parliament had found time to look beyond its domestic problems and internal intrigues, and becoming

alarmed, as both Elizabeth and James had been, at the prospect of an alliance between the Irish Catholics and a Continental Catholic power, had decided to take action, and was preparing a larger force to follow Jones. He at once sallied out of Dublin and began to clear the neighbouring country. So began the second civil war. Ormond, after protracted negotiations with the English Commissioner who had come to Dublin with Jones, resigned his position as Lord Lieutenant, left for England, and not long afterwards went to France. So it happened that during the time when Edward was making up his mind what to do, his Irish friends were helpless. They would not fight either for the Papal Nuncio or for the English Parliament, and were not strong enough for independent action.

In Scotland, while negotiations for the surrender of the King to the English were in progress, the Convention of Estates resolved that the King should be conveyed back to London with all honour and respect ; but the Commissioners of the Church, backed by Argyll and the more bigoted Presbyterian Convention, refused to agree to this without an explicit pledge from the King that he would establish the Presbyterian religion in both kingdoms ; and on Charles refusing this, he was handed over to the English. Despite this refusal, the extreme Presbyterians, who dominated Scottish policy, believed that they could force the King to accept their terms. Their plan was to continue negotiations with the King, to urge on the English Presbyterians, who at the beginning of 1647 had a small majority in each House of Parliament, the disbandment of the New Model Army, which they stigmatized as a body of sectaries, and, in order to have power behind their policy, to reorganize their own army, which had returned from England, on the same lines as the English New Model.

Early in 1647 the English Parliament found itself faced with much the same problems as had confronted the County Associations in the days before the New Model Army was formed. Arrears of pay to the amount of more than £300,000 were due to the soldiers, and the Exchequer could not meet the bill. The burden of maintaining a standing army was new to the taxpayer, and, the Royalist Army being disbanded, there was no reason obvious to the citizen for maintaining so costly a luxury. There was in February a serious riot at Smithfield, caused by an attempt to collect market dues ; the City of London, wholeheartedly Presbyterian, was clamorous in demands for the disbandment of the Army, and a number of petitions to the same effect reached Parliament from other parts of the country. This demand was by no means unwelcome to the Presbyterian majority, for many of its leaders who had served in the first Parliamentary armies were jealous of the New Model in general and of Cromwell in particular, while it was notorious that a large number of the men in the ranks had not taken the Covenant. The English Presbyterians agreed with the Scottish that they were sectaries who must be deprived of power to oppose Presbyterian policy. So, confident that it would be supported by public opinion, the Presbyterian majority set to work to disband the New Model and curb Cromwell's influence ; it was, however, ignorant of the spirit which unites a victorious army, and set about its task with little judgment and less tact. Early in March the Lords refused to continue the assessment on which the payment of the army depended, and the Commons resolved that no member of the House should hold any command in England, a measure obviously directed at Cromwell, and that every officer should be required to conform to the religion established by Parliament, which clearly meant Presbyterianism ;

while it was rumoured that the purpose of the majority in Parliament was to come to an arrangement with the Scots and the King to establish that religion.

While these questions were being discussed at Westminster, the news from Ormond of the state of Ireland convinced Parliament that military action in that country was necessary ; and this offered a solution of the problem of disposing of a good part of the army, at least for a time. The military programme of the majority of Parliament then was to maintain the greater part of the mounted troops as a regular force, on the reasonable ground that it took longer to train cavalry than infantry, and to provide a force of 12,000 men for Ireland, disbanding the surplus infantry and replacing them if necessary by a militia chosen mainly from the city train-bands, who could be relied on to be staunchly Presbyterian.

When reports of these proceedings reached the army, they very naturally aroused indignation. The soldiers wanted to know what security they would have for the payment of the arrears of pay due to them ; they suspected that if they were disbanded they would be at the mercy of the Presbyterians, and required legal indemnity for acts committed during the war ; before volunteering for Ireland they wanted to know what the terms of service would be and who was to command them. So the conviction of the Parliamentary majority that with the support of public opinion it could rule the army with a high hand and issue orders without consideration of the feelings and claims of the soldiers led straight to a conflict between Parliament and army.

Cromwell now found himself in a dilemma. He hated the policy of the Presbyterians, and had great sympathy with the legitimate grievances of the soldiers ; but he was anxious above all else to preserve the authority of

Parliament. As was his way when in doubt, he withdrew into himself and sought guidance, making but rare appearances in the House. It was only when he was convinced that the Presbyterians were about to secure the King and bring in the Scots to support them, that he openly took sides with the army and tried to bring the King and his army together. Ireton had no such limitations, and he at once took a lead as the champion of the army against Parliament. Edward, Clarendon says, was in Ireton's confidence—information which he most probably got from Edward himself—and his account of Ireton's views and actions is accurate. The style and content of his story of the quarrel with Parliament which follows suggest that it was written later than that of Fairfax's campaigns. It must obviously have been completed after his march to Scotland, and he would have no time to do this until after his return to Ireland. The fact that in the title of his story he describes himself as Colonel Wogan is proof of this, for it was Ormond who made him a colonel.

Edward was evidently less at ease in describing political events than in writing the account of a campaign, and his story of the army's quarrel with Parliament is not so complete or so accurate as that of the operations of the New Model Army. The chief interest in it from my point of view is that it shows the trend of his mind, for he adopts more definitely a Royalist view of Cromwell's conduct than he does in the first part. This was based on the stories put about by Cromwell's opponents in Parliament, and was freely embroidered as it was passed on from Royalist to Royalist. He was accused of hypocrisy, of assuring Parliament that the army would disband, and of intriguing with the army to prevent its disbandment. It is clear that Edward was at the meeting of the officers assembled in Saffron Walden

Church on May 15 and 16 with Major-General Skippon in the chair to hear the Commissioners of Parliament headed by Cromwell. The Commissioners announced that Parliament had passed an act of indemnity and had increased the amount to be paid on account of arrears from six weeks' to eight weeks' pay. After some discussion Cromwell made what Edward calls "a grave speech". It concluded :

"The Major General and the rest of the Gentlemen think it not fit to necessitate your stay here from your severall charges ; but because there may be many particulars that may require further considerations in these papers that are here represented, itt is desired that you would stay heere a field officer at the least of every regiment and two captains. For the rest it is desired of you, that you would repair to your severall charges, and that when you are there you would renew your care and diligence in pressing on the severall Souldiers under your commands, the effect of those votes you have heard read. That likewise you would acquaint them as particularly with those two things that the Major General did impart to you, which he had in a letter from the Speaker of the House of Peers, to witt the addition of a fortnight's pay, a fortnight to those that are to goe for Ireland, and a fortnight to those that doe not goe, and likewise there is an act of indempntie very full already passed the House of Commons. Truly, gentlemen, it will be only proper for to have a very great care in the making the best use and improvement that you can both of the Votes and of this that has been last told you, and of the interest that many of you may have in your several regiments, namely to worke in them a good opinion of that authority that is over both us and them. If that authority falls to nothing, nothing can follow but confusion. You have hitherto fought to maintain that duty,

and truly as you have vouchsafed your hands in defending thatt, so vouchsafe now to express your industry and interest to preserve it, and therefore I have nothing more to say to you. I shall desire that you will be pleased to lay this to heart that I have said."¹

Five days later Cromwell assured the House of Commons that a great part of the army would submit themselves entirely to be ordered by Parliament; but within a fortnight of making that statement he had fled from Westminster, joined the army and obtained control of the King's person, and was using the army to coerce Parliament. Edward did not know the reason for this *volte-face*, which had provided a text for Cromwell's enemies to expound. The reason was that in the interval the Presbyterians had decided to bring a Scottish army into England, and as a preliminary to secure the King's person. This Cromwell was determined to oppose by any and every means. Nor did Edward know that Cromwell and Ireton after many attempts to come to a firm agreement with the King had found, as most others who had attempted the task had found, that this was impossible, and had finally broken with him in November, when Edward was away in Worcestershire.

In the last chapter we left Edward on the Trent watching for an advance Southwards of the Scottish army. His story goes on from that point:

"At last we're freed from that feare, for the Scotts were resolved to deliver up the Kinge as soone as they had received an hundred thousand pounds, and soe leave the kingdome. Theire money was conveyed downe to them by Colonell Graves;² there went alsoe with him Commissioners from both Houses that went to receive the

¹ There is a full report of this meeting in *Clarke Papers*, I, p. 72. Edward's version of it is freely coloured by his new enthusiasm for the Royalist cause.

² Skippon was in charge. Graves went with him.

Kinge, and to pay the money to the Scotts. The Kinge was delivered to the custody of Colonell Graves : the Scotts marched for their owne cuntry, and the Kinge was brought to Holmeby,¹ there kept with a strong garde about him and none of his old frends suffered to come unto him except those that had leave from our Commissionrs. The Commissionrs made divers propositions to the Kinge, but not pleaseing to him. Crumwell all this while sate in the House, and both Houses ordered that the moste parte of the army should disband or goe for Ireland except those that were to stay in the Kingdome as a standing army which was to be all Presbyterians. Crumwell seemed to be as forward for this as any in the House ; our head Quarters was then at Nottingham. Commissary Ireton all this while was not ignorant what the Parliamt was resolved to doe, and at councell of warr tooke ocasion to speake of this ; how the Parliamt had noe good intentions towards the army, and that it was a sad reward for the many yeares service to be cast off without any reward for their service or security for their persons after they were disbanded : likewise that the Parliamt was resolved to set upp the Kinge agayne, that there would be noe liveing for any in that kingedome that had served in our army. All the officers that were present were much moved at this and besought the Commissary to advise them what they were to doe. He answered there was noe way but one to prevent this, which was that every officer should repayre to his respective command, and to send a trooper of each troope with the grievances of the severall troopes to Saffron Walden, where the Generall was then going to receive the Commissionrs of both Houses that were coming downe to disband the Army. The Parliament thought none soe fitt as Crumwell to be one of those Commissionrs.

¹ April 15.

The Commissionrs came to Saffron Walden ; all the officers of the army were to meete there with the names of all those that will engage for the service of Ireland : there likewise came a trooper of each troope with their severall greivances. When they were all come to towne, they were called privately together by Capt John Reynolds¹ of Cromwell's Regiment and one his greatest favoretts : when the troope mett-together the Capt made them a long and plesant speech, told them how they were like to be cast off without any maner of reward for their greate services, and that they had noe courage nor honr that would be soe, and that for his part he and all his troope would sooner dye than disband without the utmost farthing of their arreares. This speech tooke soe well with thoses troopers that they highly commended his brave resolution and were all of his opinion. When the Capt. perceived that his speech found such good successe, he desired them all to sitt downe and consider what they had to doe, and for his parte if they pleased he would sitt with them and doe nothing without their consent, which they gladly accepted of, and gave their Capt the title of Chayreman.

The first thing they did was to dispatch messengers to every regimt and troope in the army to let them know what the Parliament was resolved to doe and what they for their parte were resolved to propose to the Commissionrs, and further desired that every troope should owne what their deputies should propose to the Commissionrs to be their sense and desire, which was accordingly granted by almost every troope in the army. Our generall commanded that all our officers should

¹ Afterwards Sir John. He was later promoted to a command in Ireland. Edward's description of him is correct, but it is not established that Cromwell was privy to his organization of the agitators, though it is clear that it made no difference to his opinion of Reynolds, who continued to be a favourite.

meete in the greate Church at Saffron Walden to heare what the Commissionrs had to say unto us. The Generall with the Commissionrs came to the Church, which was allmost full.¹ The Generall made a shorte speech, tould us how much the Parliament and Kingdome were obliged to us for our faythfull services, and desired them that would goe for Ireland to give in their names : and that they first should have security for their arreares. Then Crumwell stode up and made a long grave speech in the behalfe of the Parliament, first to give the army thanks for their never to be forgotten services, as allsoe what a greate care the Parliament had to please each particular man according to his particular meritt, and that the Parliament would in tyme pay the arreares of those that were to stay in the Kingdome, and give security for the payment of those that were to goe for Ireland, and protested that for his parte if the Parliament would command him he would gladly trayle a picke in that war of Ireland, therefore desired us all to consider what a holy war that was, and that it were a noble thing for all us that were young men to engage for that kingdome.

Just whilst he was thus speaking he was interrupted by one of the troopers that was of Reynolds his Councell, which had newly called themselves Agitators ; the fellow spoake boldly to the leut Generall and told him that he was employed thither by the Army to acquaynt the Generall and the Commissionrs of their agreevance, and to that purpose prsented a remonstrance in the behalfe of the Army, which startled the Commissionrs and the Generall himselfe, and Crumwell tooke on like a madman, and declared openly in the Church that all those that had a hand in that remonstrance were enimies to the Parliament. Many of our Officers were surprised at his saying, but not the Chayreman of the Agitators, which

¹ March 16.

was Capt Reynolds. He seemed to be the more confident in his request. The remonstrance was soe unreasonable that the Commissrs would not grant anything that was desired in it : the officers were all dismiss to theire severall comands. Crumwell and the rest of the Commissioners returned to London to give the Parliament an account. Crumwell in his pretended fury protested the ruen of all those that had a hand in that remonstrance. Ireton seemed to be a neuter and would not openly owne the remonstrance, nor seeme to contest with the Parliament.

The Chayreman of the Agitators was not idle, but sent allwayes to the Troop(e)s to let them know what a sad condicion they were if they did not owne that remonstrance, and the proceedings of the Agitators. The Generall was ignorant of these contrivances and certaynely persuaded by Ireton that these that were called Agitators intended nothing to his prejudice nor to the dishonr of the army, yet the General, the Comissary Generall, and all the Officers of the Army disavowed the proceedings of the Agitators. Ireton designed the matter, what he would have the army to doe, and privately would send it to London to Crumwell. Crumwell would with as much privacie send it back agayne to his Capt Reynolds, the Chayreman Reynolds would present it to the Agitators as the greevance of the Army, they would declare it to the Parliament as the desire of the Army ; soe that all things were done and acted in that Councell of what concerned the Army without the Generalls order or any other Officers of the Army.

The Parliament was much offended at this and writt to the Generall to appease that mutinie as they called it, and to apprehend such officers as had a hand in that mutinie, that the Generall would be pleased to send up Capt Reynolds to them, he being, as they conceived, the cheefe instrument of what was past. The Generall tooke

this letter with consideracion and advised with Ireton about it. Whilst the matter was in debate whether Reynolds should be sent or noe, the Kinge was taken away from Holmeby by a partie of five hundred horse under the comand of Cornet Joyce.¹ Those that had the guarde of the Kinge condecended to his takeing away, I meane all the comon souldrs. Collonell Graves that had the comand of the Kinge at that tyme was forst to fly away privately, for all his whole regmt mutinied agt him. He and Sr Robert Pye came post to London to advertise the Parliament of what was happened, then our Generall sent to the Parliament to let them know how parte of the Army tooke away the Kinge he then knew not where, and that the rest of the Army would mutinie, and protested his inocency in the proceedings of the Army and takeing away the Kinge.

This put both Houses into a strange feare soe that they knew not what to doe or say in the matter. Now Crumwell foamed and stormed, vowed that if the Parliament would comand him he doubted not but in a shorte tyme he would destroy all the mutingers there. He protested before God openly before the Houses that he would never leave them nor forsake them whilst he lived.² The House seemed much satisfied with Crumwell's solemne protestation and began to consider how he might appease this mutiny. Crumwell, that very afternoone, stole out of Towne and posted downe to the army. As soone as he came, the first thing he did was to owne what the Agitators had done and the takeing away of the kinge to be his design. Our Generall was amased at his sayings, but Crumwell and Ireton perswaded him that there was a nesessity for it, and that it was for their owne

¹ June 4.

² Cromwell made no such speech. It was reported and widely believed that he had done so. See Carlyle, *The Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, Vol. I, p. 257, and Frith, Preface Vol. I, *Clarke Papers*, p. xviii.

safety. First they made it appear to him that the Parliament had a designe to ruen the army, and that they would close with the Kinge and leave the army in the lurch to their greate dishonr and utter ruen : by much adoe they perswaded the Generall to be of their opinion and moreover perswaded him to send his declaracion to that purpose to the Parliament, which accordingly he did. The Parliament was astonished at it, and had they not been encouraged by the Cytty of London that assured them they would live and dye with them.¹

The Parliament set forth their declaration against the army and declared all those to be traitors that had a hand in takeing away of the Kinge. They further declared that all those officers and soulders that would come off from the army to London should have six moneths' pay in hand and security for their arrears, and that they should continue in the standing army that should be in the Kingdome. This declaration wrought soe much in the army that it brought off many both officers and souldrs, first Coll. Graves, Coll. Herbert, Coll. Fortescue, Sr. Robt Pye, Coll. Sheffield, Coll. Buttler, Quarter Mr. Generall Fincher, the Generall's Leut Collonell of foot and many Capts and other Officers and souldrs came away upon this declaracion to London : without doubt all the rest would have followed, had it not been for Crumwell's subtilty, which was his outward good carriage to the Kinge which was then in the army.

It was given out in the Army by Crumwell's permission that as the Parliament would reinthrowne the Kinge without making condicions for the souldrs soe would the army reinthrowne the Kinge without makeing condicions for the Parliament. It was at that very tyme the Presbiterians lost all their interest in the army, by reason all those officers they had most confidence in had now

¹ Something omitted.

deserted the army and were gone to London, which had they not done, Crumwell and Ireton could never have brought their designe to passe, nor ever have gained soe much interest in the army as presently after they had, by reason that all those that deserted the army their commands were voyd and given to the most factious that could be found. The Parliament were preparing of an army, the cavalier party in London were joyneing with them. On the other side Crumwell endeavored to oblige all the King's friends and thought it the nearest way first to make the King his friend, which he did by his great protestacions and oathes upon his knees privately before the King that he and the whole army would declare for him ; and to give the greater assurance of his faithfulness he gave order that all those that were the King's old friends might freely come to him without any kinde of examining, that his old servants might attend him, that there should be no distinctive mark betwene the army and those that were formerly of the King's and commanded all the officers to entertaine as many of them as came to our army : the King was likewise without any guard of the army, and suffered to goe for his pleasure wheresoever he desired.

The King's friends at London could not well tell which side to take ; for the Parliament profest as much for the King as the Army could doe, but they having not much confidence in the Parliament sent downe a gent of quality to the King to receive his commands. The gent that came to the King, as I take it, was Sr Marmaduke Langdon,¹ who was sent back to London, with command to those of the King's friends not to meddle nor engage with the Parliament in London. The Presbyterians in London were quite dishartened when they saw the King's party leave them.

¹ We meet Sir Marmaduke Langdale again in the next chapter.

The Cytty would not advance any money for the levying of a new army. The Parliament at that tyme had noe money in their treasury; our army came towards London and sent theire propositions to the Parliament, first to demaund eleven of theire members to be put into the hands of the army: next that the Parliament should own all the proceedings of the army. The Parliament thought themselves soe much undervalued in these unreasonable demaunds that they would by noe meanes condescend to anythinge that the army desired. Still the army came on, and the Parliament not being provided to defend themselves, the Cytty not willing to engage in a new warr, as they conceived that to be, being much discouraged at the Speaker's stealeing away with thirty Lords and Commons; presently after the Speaker of the House of Lords went away allsoe to the army, with divers of the Principall cyttezens of London. Those of the Parliament that stayd behind were all in a confusion, and knew not well what to doe by reason the Cytty gave them quite over, and would have noething to doe with them, nor would not doe soe much as maynetayne theire lyne to make condicions for themselves, but suffered the army to march through the Cytty without any maner of opposition. When we came on the other side of the Cytty our Generall demaunded the Tower which was presently given him. Our army marched to Croyden, the Kinge was sent to Hampton Court with a small garde.¹ When Crumwell was possest of the Tower, Guildehall and Whitehall, the first thinge he did was to command the Cyttyzens to pull downe all the lyne and fortifications about the cytty, which was accordingly done with greate humility and reverence. Then the Parliament sate agayne, I meane those members that came downe to the Army. The first thing they did after they

¹ August 24.

sate was to owne all that the Parliament did this tyme past, and ordered that the Army should have six moneths' pay payd them out of hand, which was borrowed of the Cytty, and presently payd to the soldrs. The Army was then sent to quarters with an order to disband all those amongst us that were of the Kinge's party. Coll. Whaley was sent with his Regimt to garde the Kinge at Hampton Court. The Generall removed his quarters to Puttney where he stayed till the Kinge was cunningly jugled away to the Isle of Wight,¹ and soe presently after I marcht away into Scotland with my troope."²

So ends Edward's account of his experiences with the New Model Army, with the only "I" in the whole of it in the last line, but as will be seen, he provides us with better evidence of his conduct as a soldier than anything he could have told us himself. It is, I think, clear that he began to turn Royalist at the time of the general revolution of feeling in favour of Charles which followed on the King's release by the Scots. If, as is probable, this second part of his story was first drafted in Ireland (for he would have had no leisure to do this while he was with the Scots) and subsequently revised in Paris, then a good deal of his animus against Cromwell is accounted for by the fact that he was writing after Cromwell's invasion. As an Irish Roman Catholic, the slaughter of Drogheda and Wexford must have stirred him deeply.

¹ December 1647.

² March 1648.

CHAPTER V

EDWARD TURNS ROYALIST

“SO presently I marcht away into Scotland with my own troope” ; as if it were just a matter of ordering “Threes right ! Walk, march !” The most remarkable thing in this adventure is its beginning. That Edward, at the age of 22, should have induced some six or seven score hard bitten warriors to follow him into a strange country, more than 250 miles away, for uncertain rewards, says more for his leadership in Fairfax’s campaigns than anything he could have told us himself, for old soldiers do not voluntarily follow an officer in a dangerous enterprise unless they have proved him. It does not need much imagination to see Edward leading his men in the attack on the bridge-gate of Bath, of which, with his reticence about himself, he says so little, leading them in the storming of Bristol, in the surprise of Bovey Tracey, in the attacks on Dartmouth and Torrington. He had won the confidence of his men ; what had happened to them and to him was this.

In October 1647, Edward was given three months’ pay for himself and for his troop and ordered to take it into Worcestershire, there to await disbandment. This was at the time of the issue of a manifesto by a new body of Agitators, “*The Case of the Army truly stated*”, which demanded that Parliament should be purged, declared that all power was in the people, and required it to be enacted that the House of Commons was supreme over King and Lords ; revolutionary stuff in 1647. The army was beginning to distrust the King as much as it distrusted a Presbyterian Parliament, but in the country at

large feeling in favour of Charles was still growing, and this was certainly the case in Worcestershire. I doubt Edward's statement that he was sent there to be disbanded because he was suspected of Royalist sympathies, for in that case a notoriously Royalist district would not have been chosen; but it is clear that the intention was to disband his troop, and it did not want to be disbanded. To avoid this Edward appealed to Fairfax, volunteering for service in Ireland and offering to take his troop with him. To this Fairfax agreed, and Edward was authorized to enlist men to bring his troop up to full strength, that is, one hundred men. He does not tell us what he had in mind in making this offer. He had been willing to fight for religious liberty in Ireland, but now he had no desire to help the extremists of the army to get control. Did he hope that in Ireland he would get an opportunity to change sides?

Early in 1648 this order was countermanded, and he was directed to proceed with the disbandment of his troop at once. It is probable that by this time information had reached headquarters that he was colloquing with Royalists in Worcestershire, and signs of Royalist activity in the country generally were increasing so fast that action had to be taken. But in Edward's case something more effective than a letter was needed, for he just ignored Fairfax's order and set about making his plans. By this time Cromwell and Ireton had finally broken with the King, but in Scotland the Royalists had gained a considerable majority in the Convention of Estates, and were sufficiently powerful to dominate the Commission of the Church. It is not improbable that reports had reached Worcestershire Royalists that the Scottish Commissioners who had visited the King in Carisbrooke Castle had come to an agreement with him. A number of English Royalists had crossed the border, and Edward's Worcestershire

friends would not have much difficulty in persuading him that Scotland offered a better field for his activities than Ireland. If he was the man I take him to have been, he would not have wished to part from his men ; and though he could have got to Ireland himself, he could not have taken his men with him without help, which was denied him. Could he take them with him to Scotland ?

To move even a small body of mounted men some 300 miles, the distance from Worcester to Edinburgh, needed preparation, and Edward had to arrange this himself. He decided to give his little expedition the cloak of authority by forging Fairfax's name to a pass. It seems odd to us that a junior officer should write direct to the Commander-in-Chief on service matters, and odder still that the Chief should reply in his own hand. If this was Fairfax's normal practice he must have been a busy man, but there is no doubt that he wrote to Edward, who had a signature to copy. Discretion was needed in the use of this document, for the orders of Parliament against seizing supplies without payment were strict, and to have done this before the party was in reach of the Scottish border would have attracted attention. Edward probably collected enough money from Worcestershire Royalists to see him through the first part of his journey ; there is evidence that he was supplied with funds. His route up the West Coast would have taken him through Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland, and in these counties there were a number of Royalist landowners on whom he could call for help. His plans must have been carefully made, for he was in Edinburgh before the first news of his enterprise reached London. Having made his plans, he had to get his men to agree to them, and making every allowance for the fact that they did not want to be disbanded and had a grievance against

Parliament, which owed them much more than the three months' pay they had received, it is a notable tribute to his influence over them that they accepted his plans and kept mum about them, for no word of them got out in time for authority to act.

Edward added to his troop a party of Worcestershire Royalists, and must have set off in the third week of February ; for he reached Carlisle on March 5 and Edinburgh on the 10th, and to have averaged twenty-five miles a day, in view of the state of the roads in the North at that time of year, would have been good going ; indeed, to have kept that speed up in so long a march shows that he must have been an exceptionally good horse-master.

The first news of Edward's adventure came from Kendal, where Parliament had a watch-dog whose bark we shall hear again. He was reported as having arrived there from Lancaster, and to be waiting a call from Scotland, which had not come. The money he had brought with him to pay for lodging was said to be nearly exhausted. The watch-dog was over-optimistic, for on March 14 Parliament received a letter from Fairfax addressed to the Committee of Derby House, the body charged with the general supervision of military affairs. It ran :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

There is one Captain Wogan, heretofore in the Parliament Service, under my command, who six months ago, by Orders from the Parliament, received three months arrears for himself and his Troop, in order to their disbanding, but afterwards (the Houses at that time designing some Forces to be sent over into Ireland) upon his earnest Importunity, he had Permission from me to keep together

such of his men as he had left undispersed, and list a full troop in order to that Service ; upon which Permission, in expectation of Employment that Way, he and his men have ever since taken free quarters upon the County, in Worcestershire and thereabouts, and have listed many new men (of whom divers, as is credibly informed, are Reformadoes that have served the King) and so increased his Troop to the Number of One Hundred or more disorderly Persons, who have much oppressed and abused the County. But the Houses, having since then resolved to disband all the super-numerary Forces in this Kingdom, and not to send any of them for the present into Ireland ; and having appointed all such as were entertained since the Sixth of August last to be immediately disbanded without further Pay ; the said Captain and his men falling in that Compass, have according to the Resolutions of the Parliament, had several positive orders from myself, forthwith to disband and disperse ; notwithstanding which, they have, under divers Pretences, for some time delayed, and at last refused to disband according to the said Orders, continuing together in an hostile Manner, to the Oppression and Terror of the People, till at last, fearing the rising of the County upon them, in the coming of other Forces to disperse them, the said Captain Wogan (as I am informed) having forged and counterfeited my Hand to it, upon his marching to Kendall in West'rland, went with his Troop by long marches thitherwards, and under Pretext of that Counterfeit Order, passed freely into the Northern Borders. He is thence, as I understand, gone over with his Troop into Scotland. Thus much I thought it my duty to inform your Lordships ; and to assure you that he had no Order

at all from me for his marching Northward, or any other way ; but that which he produced for his Passage was wholly Counterfeit.

I remain,

Your Lordships'

Humble Servent,

Fairfax.

Queen Street, 11 Martii, 1647 (8).

On receiving this letter Parliament sent the following instructions to its Commissioners in Edinburgh :

1. You are to make known to the Parliament of Scotland, the Convention, or Committee of Estates that shall be appointed to debate with you, what the Houses of Parliament know, concerning the Troop of Horse of Captain Wogan, and the said Manner and Pretences of their Passage into Scotland ; the state of which Business (as far as the House is informed thereof) is expressed in a Letter from the General to the Committee at Derby House concerning the same, of which you have herewith a Copy.

2. You are to assure the Parliament of Scotland, Convention or Committee of Estates, or any other Committee as above said, that the March of the said Troop of Captain Wogan's, in a military posture or otherwise, out of this Kingdom into Scotland, or any other Forces (if any such there be) is altogether without the Allowance, Order or Priority, of the Parliament of England ; and therefore you are in the Name of both Houses of the Parliament of England, to demand from the Parliament of Scotland that the said Captain Wogan, and his officers that are Englishmen and also the English Officers of any other Forces that may be passed over out of this

Kingdom into Scotland, as also all such Officers and Reformadoes now in Scotland as you shall find to have at any time served the King against the Parliament, may be all forthwith apprehended, secured and delivered over to you, to be sent Prisoners into England, and that all Private Soldiers may be dismounted, dispersed and sent Home, and the Horses and Arms of the said Captain Wogan and the Officers and Soldiers aforesaid, you shall cause to be sent into England for the Service of this Parliament.¹

The Estate of Parliament did not return an answer to this demand until April 12, when they refused it on the ground "that none can be remanded or delivered by this Kingdom, but only such of the English Nation, who have incensed the King of Scotland against the Kingdom of England".²

Fairfax was naturally angry when he wrote his letter ; but he could not on March 11 have had time to investigate the facts, and I find it hard to believe that Edward and his troop could have terrorized the County of Worcestershire for some time, as he suggests. It is quite probable that the Royalists of that county, as was the case at this time in several other counties, began to be uppish and to give the Puritan minority the cold shoulder, but it is certain that Edward and his troop had no reason to fear "the rising of the County upon them".

Shortly after Fairfax received his information of Edward's march, a further report reached London, this time from York :

What the late businesse in Westmorland and Cumberland will amount to we cannot yet perfectly

¹ *Lords' Journals*, X, p. 120.

² *Lords' Journals*, X, p. 226.

discern, but for ought I see, it carries a very suspicious countenance, being upon this juncture of Disbanding : a party of horse from hence will be sent to discover more perfectly the businesse, something more we understand of it for last night we were informed by a good hand out of Cumberland that Sir Philip Musgrave and Sir Marmaduke Langdale are in Scotland, and that it is reported they have commission for the raising of forces in these northern parts, the Troop of horse that lately marched through Westmorland are informed to consist of 140. Some understanding men informe that there is an intention of ingarrisoning Carlisle and Barwick within 14 days by that party.

Sunday night last (March 5) there came above 70 horsemen with a small number of Foote to the Walls of Carlisle and having ladders entered the Castle, and broake open the Gaole, released the Troopers and other prisoners and wounded the Gaoler and retreated towards Scotland.¹

York March 11, 1647 (1648).

Carlisle and Berwick had been handed back to Parliament when the Scots Army marched home after the surrender of the King. Sir Philip Musgrave and Sir Marmaduke Langdale had arrived in Edinburgh some ten days before Edward. Sir Philip owned large estates in Cumberland, and had been Governor of Carlisle for Charles ; Sir Marmaduke had distinguished himself as a leader of Royalist Cavalry under Rupert, and was one of the great landowners of Yorkshire. They had many Royalist friends in their counties. They had both visited Charles when he was at Hampton Court, but when the

¹ A letter from an eminent person in the Northern Army, London, 1648. The eminent person was probably Lambert, who was in command at York.

Army began to turn against the King they retired to their estates in the North and crossed the Border in the latter part of February. In Edinburgh they arranged with the Duke of Hamilton, leader of the Scottish Royalists, to take Carlisle and Berwick, which they were confident of being able to do with the help of their friends in the neighbourhood of these places, on the understanding that the two towns, when captured, should be handed over to Scotland, and that a Scots army to be led by Hamilton would follow. There does not seem to have been much discretion in the preparation of these plans, since the Parliamentary Commander at York knew all about them.

I do not think there is any doubt that it was Edward who carried out the coup against the Castle of Carlisle, reported in the letter from York. He had reached that city without much difficulty and had met no opposition ; he was within reach of the Border, and would have learned that there were a number of Royalist prisoners in the Castle, so he probably thought that it would add to his welcome in Scotland if he released them. The date of this, March 5, fits into what we know of his march, and as Musgrave and Langdale were at that time planning the permanent occupation of Carlisle and Berwick, it is highly improbable that they would have preceded this by a raid.

Having released the prisoners, Edward crossed the Border in style, for it was reported to Parliament from Edinburgh on March 14 :

The Horse that came out of England with Captain Wogan are in arms in Scotland, and have quarters assigned to them. They had some hundreds sent to them, by whom and from whom it appears not, with which they pay their quartering. When they came upon Scots ground they made their colours

flying, expressed abundance of rancour against the Parliament and the Army of England, and how ready they should be to join against them. Captain Wogan is at Edinburgh and is said to raise a regiment.¹

Edward set to work at once to enlarge his command, and was successful, for a report to Parliament from Edinburgh dated April 24 stated that his numbers were increasing.² He had by then 500 men ready to join Musgrave and Langdale, who had completed their plans. Musgrave was to invade Cumberland and take Carlisle, while Langdale, after seizing Berwick, was to raise the Royalists of Yorkshire. Edward naturally chose to go with Musgrave, as he knew something of Cumberland and of Carlisle.³ Langdale entered Berwick in the early morning of April 28 with the farmers coming into market, and the place was taken without a shot being fired. Musgrave was waiting on the Border for Edward to join him, when he received an urgent message from Langdale pressing him to seize Carlisle before the news of the capture of Berwick got out. Musgrave seized the place with a small party on the night of April 29, and Edward joined him the next day.⁴ The news of this alarmed Parliament, where it was regarded as the precursor of a Scottish invasion in force, and on May 8 Fairfax was directed "to advance in person into the North with such forces as he shall think fit to reduce the places in those parts possessed by Delinquents".⁵ But before Fairfax could give effect to this order the situation in England had become serious. A Royalist rising had

¹ Rushworth, VII, p. 1032.

² *Ibid.*, p. 1068.

³ *Lords' Journals*, X, p. 288.

⁴ Musgrave's narration, *Clarendon MSS.*, 2867.

⁵ Rushworth, VII, p. 1109.

gained head in South Wales, and Cromwell had to be sent to deal with it; and this was followed by Royalist demonstrations in many parts of the country, and the assembly of a considerable Royalist force in Kent and Sussex, backed by a declaration for the King from six ships of the Navy lying off those coasts. This last business occupied Fairfax's attention until June. There is no doubt that if there had been a Royalist leader to co-ordinate these spasmodic efforts, and if Scotland had been ready, the situation of Parliament in May 1648, would have been grave; but leadership was all on the one side.

Meanwhile Edward, with Musgrave's cavalry, had patrolled through Westmorland to the borders of Lancashire, and had created a good deal of alarm in that county, until it was discovered that the Scots were not following hard after the English advanced-guard. Hamilton had demanded Berwick of Langdale, and sent a small body of infantry to garrison the place, but no more Scots came South. Langdale then moved into Yorkshire and made an attempt on Pontefract Castle, which was repulsed; whereupon Lambert, finding that no Scots were crossing the Tweed, went after him and drove him into Carlisle, whither Edward had been recalled by Musgrave. There the English Royalists remained in a state of semi-siege for some weeks, during which dispatch-riders followed one another on the road to Edinburgh with urgent appeals to Hamilton to hurry up.

The timing of this enterprise could not have been worse. Musgrave and Langdale probably had information that risings were being prepared in the South, in which case they would naturally want to time their invasion accordingly; but if they hoped to drag the Duke of Hamilton after them they were badly informed. Scotland was as bitterly divided as England, and the Commission of the

Church backed by Argyle was at war with the Royalist majority of Convention. The Commission demanded that all English fighting with the Scots should be required to take the Covenant, and was horrified when it was learned that Musgrave and Langdale were enlisting Roman Catholics. Getting no redress for its grievances, it proceeded to hamper Hamilton's preparations, and was powerful enough to be an effective drag on the military machine; so that when Langdale warned the Scots commander that unless help came speedily he would have to give up Carlisle, it was with an ill-prepared force that Hamilton moved South.

Sir James Turner, the reputed Dugald Dalgetty, who was Hamilton's Adjutant General in this sorry campaign, and as a good Scot puts all the blame he can for its mischances on his English colleagues, says of the eve of Hamilton's advance: "We could not but with much regret and displeasure consider that Sir Marmaduke and his Lieutenant General Sir Philip Musgrave, both gentlemen of untainted loyaltie and gallantrie, had not only unseasonable, and contrary to the orders given them, raised above 3,000 foot and horse, but had marched with them into Lancashire, and thereby had given a just pretext to the Parliament to send Lambert, with a considerable power, to give a stop to these further proceedings; which he did so vigorously that Langdale was glad to shelter himself under the walls of Carlisle. This exposed him to a certaine and present ruine, unless he was succoured. To march to his reliefe, were to leave the halfe of our forces in Scotland unleavied, and an enemy behind our hand, ourselves in very bad condition, without money, meale, artillerie, or ammunition; to suffer him to perish was against honor, conscience and reasons both of state and warre."¹

¹ Sir James Turner, *Memoirs*, 1829 ed., p. 57.

The "enemie behind our hand" was the dour Presbyterians of West Scotland, who were the backbone of the supporters of the Kirk party, and were known as Whigamores. Through them the Whigs made their bow to history, and we shall hear more of them soon. In the summer of 1648 they did much to hamper Hamilton, who, for that reason amongst others, would have preferred to invade England by the East Coast.

Langdale was not in fact in such a bad case as he made out, for at the end of May he was able to detach a party which, on May 1, made good a previous failure by surprising Pontefract Castle and putting a garrison into it. This caused Lambert to send a part of his force to observe the place, and he too was calling for help. It was on its way to him early in July, for Cromwell had finally disposed of the trouble in South Wales by capturing Pembroke Castle on July 11. In the campaign in Pembrokeshire he had the help of Edward's relative Thomas Morgan, who had become Member of Cardiff in the Long Parliament, which thanked him for his services. As soon as the fall of Pembroke was in sight Cromwell ordered six troops of horse which he had kept in Cheshire watching North Wales, to go to Lambert's help, and prepared to follow them himself. It was news of the advance of this force which caused Langdale to warn Hamilton that unless help came he would not be able to hold Carlisle.

Hamilton reached Carlisle on July 8 with some 10,500 men, but Turner says they were a poor army composed mainly of recruits, badly equipped. There was no money to buy supplies and no supply service, so the troops had to forage for themselves, which did not improve their mobility or their popularity. Hamilton was neither a commander nor a personality; his second-in-command,

the Earl of Callander, was a personality, and dominated his chief, but was even more ignorant of the art of war ; the two best soldiers in the Scots Army were Edward's old acquaintance Middleton, the commander of the cavalry, whose troopers had much ado to stay on the backs of their horses, and our friend Turner. While this motley army was getting itself into some sort of shape in Cumberland, there were bickerings between the Scottish leaders. Middleton and Turner wanted to advance into Yorkshire, as providing easier country for the half-trained troops than the mountains of Cumberland and Westmorland ; Hamilton, who had at first wanted to do this, veered round and insisted on an advance into Lancashire in the hope of raising the Royalists of that county. There were bickerings between the Scots leaders and Langdale and Musgrave ; the English cavalry, being the only efficient body in the army, was expected to do a good deal more than its share of work, and this was telling on the horses. Edward, after his experiences with the New Model Army, must have repented his choice of the galley in which he found himself.

On July 16 Hamilton moved slowly forward, and Lambert fell back to Bowes and Barnard Castle, occupying Stainmoor Pass to cover his communications with Yorkshire, and leaving a garrison in Appleby Castle. At Kirkby, just North of Appleby, Hamilton made another long halt, filling in the time with a leisurely siege of the castle, which surrendered on July 31. He was waiting for reinforcements, guns and ammunition from Scotland, and for 3,000 well-trained soldiers from Ulster under Sir George Monro, a nephew of General Robert Monro, who had been for a long time in command of the Scottish forces in Northern Ireland.

Hamilton's reinforcements from Scotland having joined him, he again moved slowly forward and reached

Kendal on August 2, while Lambert, who now had news of Cromwell, fell back on Richmond and then toward Leeds. While Hamilton was pottering about, there was no uncertainty about Cromwell's movements. As soon as Pembroke Castle had fallen he started Northwards with three regiments of foot, a regiment of horse, and a party of Dragoons. He directed his march on Yorkshire so as to be able to attack Hamilton if he moved on York, or to take him in flank if he advanced into Lancashire. To that end he told Lambert to cover the crossings of the Wharfe. He reached Leicester on August 1, and was in Doncaster on the 8th, where he waited for artillery which was coming to him from Hull.

Meanwhile Langdale, impatient of the delay of the Scots, had sent his mounted troops into Lancashire and followed them with his foot. He reached Settle, in the upper valley of the Riddle, hoping to win Skipton Castle, and sent patrols into Yorkshire, who discovered the movements of considerable Parliamentary forces in that county; so Edward had some active employment at last. He was doubtless not sorry to get away from his allies for a bit, for the methods of the Scots so scared the inhabitants that it was difficult to obtain supplies even on payment, and there were other unpleasantnesses.

It was reported to Parliament from Newcastle on August 11: "Great distrust betwixt the English under Langdale and the Scots; they putting the English on the hardest duty, which occasioned some quarelling; one of Langdale's men killed a Scot, a Scot killed an Englishman."¹ "The Scots play sweep-stake, take nothing but all movables, cows and sheep in great abundance, and all household stuff to the very Pot-hooks; they take our children, and make us pay Ransom for them, and force

¹ Rushworth, VII, p. 1219.

our women before our faces (the like Impudence never seen)."¹

In the meantime Sir George Monro's force from Ireland had reached Scotland and crossed the Border into Cumberland. Callander thereupon claimed that Monro should come under his orders as commander of the infantry. Monro, who probably knew something of Callander, refused to agree to this, on the ground that the Scottish force in Ireland had always been an independent command, acting under instructions from the Committee of Estates, and he claimed the right to accept no orders except those of Hamilton himself. Callander refused to agree with this, and Hamilton, as a solution of the dispute, suggested that Monro should follow on behind as a sort of general reserve, with which he didn't even bother to keep in touch.

Bad weather and lack of horses for his transport delayed Hamilton at Kendal until August 9, when he advanced to Hornby, where there was another long halt. At a council of war on August 13, the discussion whether the advance should be continued into Lancashire or Yorkshire was renewed, Lancashire being chosen because Hamilton believed that his appearance would be the signal for a Royalist rising in that county and in North Wales. To Hornby came Langdale with news that the enemy were in strength in West Yorkshire; there is some doubt whether he had, as he claims, discovered Cromwell's presence, but there is none that the English cavalry gave the Scots ample warning of Parliamentary forces advancing from the East. Turner says of this :

The vanguard is constantlie given to Sir Marmaduke upon condition he should constantlie furnish guides, pioneers for clearing the way, and which was

¹ Rushworth, vii, p. 1227.

much more than both these, to have good and certain intelligence of all the enemy's motions. But whether it was by our fault or his neglect, want of intelligence helped to ruine us.¹

Quite true, but the want of intelligence was different in kind. So Hamilton moved slowly on to Preston, while Langdale drew in his patrols towards that place.

Cromwell, having received his artillery from Hull, moved forward from Doncaster on August 11. Two days later he joined forces with Lambert in the valley of the Wharfe, and they both then turned East through the Pennines. He was, as usual when it was a matter of military action, quite clear what he wanted, which was to bring Hamilton to battle before he was joined by Monro, and before he had raised the Lancashire Royalists. On August 15 he crossed the watershed of the Pennines and spent the night at Gisburne on the Upper Ribble, whence he advanced the next morning to Hodder Bridge, and there made his plan.

After the conjunction of that Party which I brought with me out of Wales with the Northern Forces about Knaresborough and Willersby, hearing that the enemy was advanced with their army into Lancashire, we came the 16th instant to Hodder Bridge near Ribble, when we had a Council of War ; and upon advertisement the enemy intended Southward, and since confirmed, that they resolved for London itself, and information that the Irish Forces under Monroe lately come out of Ireland, which consisted of 1,200 horse and 1,500 Foot, were on their march towards Lancashire to join with them ; it was thought to engage the enemy to fight was our Business. And accordingly marching over the

¹ Turner, p. 62.

Bridge that Night, quartered the whole Army in the Fields. Next morning we marched towards Preston.¹

He spent the night of the 16th-17th at Stonyhurst Park on the North bank of the Ribble about seven miles from Preston Moor.

Meanwhile Hamilton had passed through Lancaster, leaving a force under Sir Thomas Tildesley to besiege the castle ; Middleton's horse were sent southwards into Lancashire towards Wigan to forage, and the bulk of the Scottish infantry reached Preston on the 16th, while Langdale collected his patrols on Preston Moor above this town. Hamilton was about to continue his march southwards, and his foot had already crossed the Ribble, when news arrived from Langdale that he was being attacked on Preston Moor. Hamilton was for marching to Langdale's help, when Callander arrived and insisted that the Scottish foot must not move until Middleton and the cavalry had rejoined them. So the bulk of the Scottish force remained a mile and a half away on the other side of the river, while Langdale's 3,600 Englishmen were, with the help of a small body of Scottish horse, battling with double that number of Cromwell's best soldiers. There is no point in describing in detail the disaster which this dispersion made inevitable. Langdale had wisely posted his men in some fields enclosed by stiff hedges ; these and the mud-hampered Cromwell's cavalry, and it became a matter of hand-to-hand fighting for a good four hours. " And indeed I must say ", he wrote, " God was as much seen in the valour of the officers and soldiers of these before mentioned² as in any action that hath been performed ; the Enemy making, though he was at end worsted, very stiff and sturdy

¹ Carlyle, Letter LXIV.

² This refers to certain regiments he had cited.

resistance.”¹ It took him longer to dispose of the English on Preston Moor than it had taken to beat the Royalists at Naseby. Having driven Langdale back and split his force in two, Cromwell then turned on the Scots and routed them. In the pursuit after the battle Langdale and most of the senior Scottish officers were captured, but Edward, who had a remarkable faculty for getting out of tight places, retired with such men as he could collect north-westwards from Preston, and fell in with Sir Thomas Tildesley, who, on hearing of the result of Preston, had raised the siege of Lancaster and was marching North to join Monro.

Cromwell's intention was, after scattering the Scots, to attack Monro, but his men and horses were too weary. He wrote on August 20 :

We have quite tired our horse in pursuit of the enemy ; we have killed, taken and dissipated all his foot, and left them only some horse, with whom the Duke is fled into Delamere Forest, having neither foot nor dragoons. They have taken five hundred of them there, I mean the country forces have, as they sent me word this day.

They (the Scots) are so tired and in such confusion, that if my horse could but trot after them, I would take them all, but we are so weary, we shall scarce be able to walk after them.²

So Monro, with Tildesley and Musgrave, who had taken no part in the battle, and the remnants of the English force, marched at their leisure through Durham to the Tweed. Hamilton was taken prisoner, sent to London for trial, and executed.

¹ Carlyle, Letter LXIV.

² Carlyle, Letter LXV.

The disaster to Hamilton confounded the Royalist majority of Convention, and put Argyle and the Whigamores in power. They gained control of Edinburgh, the nominal Government retiring to Stirling, and ordered Monro to cross the Tweed, but closed the frontier to all English, so that Tildesley, Musgrave and their men were left to shift for themselves. Monro marched to Stirling, being a good deal harassed by Whigamores on the way, and proposed to take his force back to Ireland to rejoin his uncle. While he was preparing for this, news reached him that Monk, who commanded the Parliamentary forces in Ulster, had captured Carrickfergus, made Robert Monro a prisoner, and occupied the Irish ports of the North-west. Thereupon George Monro's force disbanded itself, and he escaped to Holland.

Edward was not deterred by these difficulties. He slipped across the Tweed, but with Cromwell coming to terms with Argyle and receiving a friendly reception in Edinburgh, there was clearly no present hope for the Royalist cause in Scotland, so he made his way to the West Coast, got a boat to take him across to Ireland, and then made his way South to join Ormond, who had arrived at Cork on September 29.

CHAPTER VI

EDWARD RETURNS TO IRELAND

ORMOND had come to Ireland at the request of the moderate party in the Kilkenny Association, in which, to Rinuccini's fury, it had obtained a majority. The prime mover in this had been Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, who, in spite of the fact that he was a Protestant, was a power with the Roman Catholics of Munster. At the outbreak of the civil war he had stood for the King and held Munster in the royal interest, but in 1644 he was ruffled when Charles foolishly refused him the Presidency of Munster, which he coveted, and in that year he offered his services, which were eagerly accepted, to Parliament, on the ground that in the decline of the royal cause, this was the only way to save the Protestants of the province. He maintained control of Munster on behalf of Parliament, but in the winter of 1647-8 he was offended when he got no response to his frequent appeals to Westminster for help. Like a good many others he was alarmed by Rinuccini's proposals to bring in foreign aid for the Catholics, and was disgusted by the Papal Legate's violence, so he set himself the task of bringing together his Munster Protestants and the moderate Catholics of the Pale, and thus secured a majority at Kilkenny. He then opened negotiations with Ormond, who on his arrival at Cork found this somewhat temperamental chief to be his principal ally.

Inchiquin had urged Ormond to bring money and arms with him, particularly money, and Ormond had done his best to collect both, but only with moderate success. Difficulties and delays in getting away from France

exhausted almost all the funds he had raised ; he narrowly escaped shipwreck off the French coast, and eventually reached Cork with little more than his reputation and his personality to commend him, so that his enterprise was hampered from the start. Political confusion in Ireland was nothing new, but in the latter part of 1648 it had reached a climax. In the North most of the Scottish settlers, while looking askance at dealings with the Catholics, were Royalist in sympathy but they were so weary of the exactions of Robert Monro's soldiery that they betrayed him and the town of Carrickfergus to Monk, the Parliamentary commander in Eastern Ulster, at the very time when, as we have seen, Monro had sent his nephew George and three thousand of his men to help Hamilton in his invasion of England.

The rest of Ulster, with the exception of Londonderry, which was held for Parliament by Coote, was controlled by Owen Roe O'Neill, now leader of the Ulster Irish, who with them had been engaged in harrying Coote and Monk as opportunity offered. He was a favourite of Rinuccini, who supplied him with money and as many plenary absolutions as he chose to ask for, but when the Papal Legate lost control at Kilkenny, O'Neill, out of hatred of the Protestants, Ormond and Inchiquin, with that strange inconsistency that marked Irish politics, opened negotiations with the Puritan Jones in Dublin, and encouraged by him, offered his services to Parliament at the price of a free pardon for himself and his followers, security of land tenure, and religious freedom. Negotiations with the murderers of 1641 were more than the Puritan Parliament could stomach, and the offer was refused. Nothing daunted by this rebuff, O'Neill continued to fish in troubled waters. Sir George Monro, who had returned to Ireland from Holland, was sent by Ormond to rally the Scots of Ulster and with them and

other local help he besieged Coote in Londonderry. O'Neill, who was short of ammunition and of food for his men, opened negotiations with Coote and with Monk, who was in Dundalk, and in return for a present of cattle and gunpowder from Coote he raised the siege of Londonderry. Monk, while refusing to commit himself to the terms O'Neill proposed until he had authority from England, kept the negotiations dragging on until eventually O'Neill put himself and his men at Ormond's disposal.

Rinuccini, loth to abandon his hope of a completely Irish Roman Catholic Ireland supported by the Continental Catholic powers, fulminated against Inchiquin and issued a proclamation excommunicating all who had dealings with him. He put those towns and counties which had declared in favour of the majority of the Kilkenny Association under an interdict; but his very violence was his enemy, and many priests and some Bishops defied him. Inchiquin, with the firm support of the Roman Catholic landowners of the Pale, grew in strength, and when he was reinforced by Ormond's arrival Rinuccini came to the conclusion that his policy had failed and he departed to France; but he left behind him a hard core of Ultramontane Catholics, who lost no opportunity for causing trouble.

Such was the tangle which Ormond had to unravel. Parliament having refused to accept the terms on which he had offered to resign the lord-lieutenancy, he still held the King's commission and he arrived armed with authority from the Queen and the Prince of Wales to make such concessions as would unite the Anglo-Irish Protestants and Catholics in the royal cause. He took this in hand at once, offering the Catholics repeal of the penal laws and of the Act of Supremacy, and to both Catholics and Protestants a free and independent Parliament, which, when elected, should have authority to

settle questions of ecclesiastical property and endowments. The Roman Catholics wanted an established Irish Catholic Church, but to this the Protestants would not agree, and there was no remote probability of its acceptance by an English Parliament ; so influenced by "the present condition of His Majesty" (the King had been brought to trial), they gave way, and Ormond's terms were accepted. The agreement was published by the Lord Lieutenant in a proclamation dated January 17, 1649. Ormond was much pleased with his success, but the agreement had no firm foundation, for even if the leaders were honest in their intention, there was too much past bitterness to be wiped out by signatures on a piece of paper, and their followers gave up none of their aims. There was a reaction in Inchiquin's Munster army, in which the Protestants mutinied as a protest against the concessions made to the Catholics, and some time and trouble were needed to restore order.

Despite this setback, Ormond was optimistic. The execution of the King caused a marked revulsion of opinion in favour of the Royalists, and the proclamation of Charles II by Ormond was well received. Numbers of English and Scottish Royalists crossed the Channel to join him, and when Rupert arrived in Kinsale Harbour with the Royal fleet, which thanks to desertions from the Parliamentary Navy had become a considerable force, there seemed to be real hope for the royal cause in Ireland, whither Ormond contemplated inviting the King. But Rupert proved to be as difficult to deal with as any of the Irish chiefs. He demanded a large part of Ormond's little store of money, and a thousand men to man his fleet. It is true he was badly in need of both, for he had only been able to put to sea from Holland because some money had been raised by the sale of a few small ships which had been captured, and his fleet was badly

under-manned ; but having got all that Ormond could give, his only action was to open negotiations with various persons without Ormond's knowledge, and eventually Blake blockaded him in Kinsale Harbour.

By patient and skilful negotiation Ormond had by March gained at least nominal control of the greater part of Ireland. His one serious opponent was Jones in Dublin, and it was known that the Parliamentary forces in the capital were unpaid and short of food, Jones having lost control of the surrounding country, and that desertions were frequent. Since the execution of the King the number of those in the city with Royalist sympathies had increased, so encouraged by all this Ormond summoned Jones to surrender ; but a firm refusal was returned, and it was clear that the capital could only be recovered by force. It was well known that Cromwell was preparing an expedition to invade Ireland, and it was of vital importance to the Royalists that the port of Dublin should be in their hands before it sailed. For this an army was needed, but how to raise and maintain an army without money and without general enthusiasm for a cause was a problem. Ormond hoped to provide the enthusiasm by bringing in Charles II at the appropriate time ; the King was quite willing to come, and later went to Jersey to be in readiness. As to money, Ormond did all that was possible ; he issued promises to pay and raised funds by mortgaging royal lands, but when all was done he was still woefully short of what was necessary.

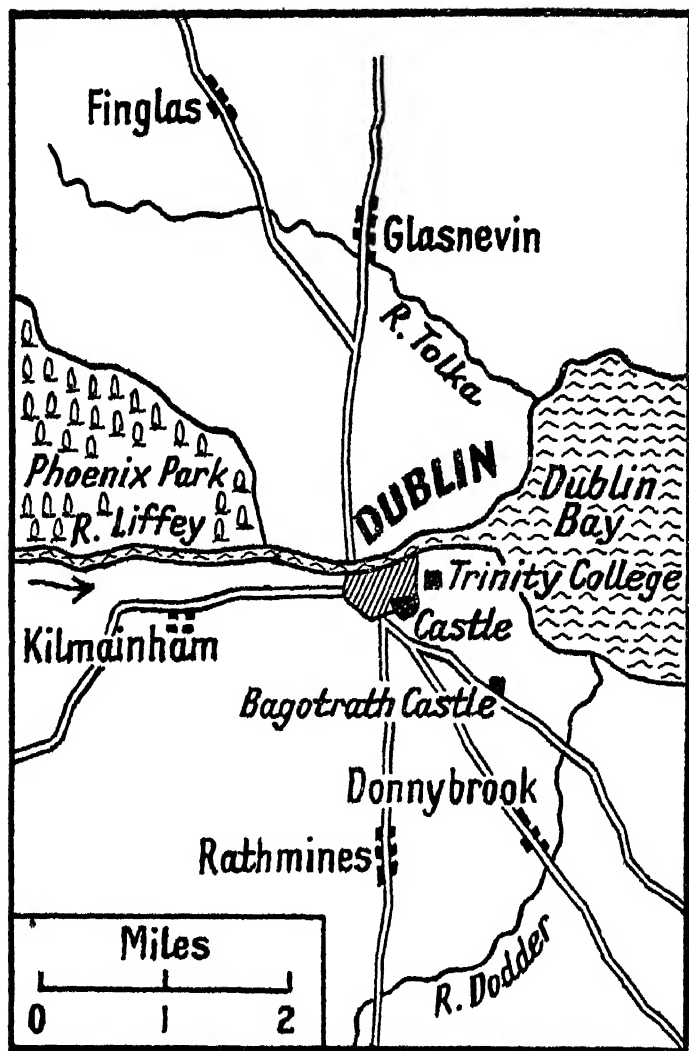
By March an army of a sort numbering 10,000 foot and 3,000 horse was collected, but it consisted of men of very different interests and passions, many of whom had been fighting each other in the past ; there was little artillery, and no service of supply. Ormond was, in fact, unable to move at all until the grass had grown sufficiently to

provide feed for his horses. The leaders were, with few exceptions, jealous of each other, and jockeyed for appointments and commands. Such was the army which Edward joined. Ormond had given him a commission as Colonel and ordered him to raise a regiment of horse. He found this to be a much more difficult task in County Cork than it had been in Midlothian. There had been plenty of English Royalist refugees in Scotland anxious to serve under any one who would lead them, and he had had with these as the nucleus of his regiment the troops he had led out of England. There were a number of gentlemen in Munster willing to raise troops of horse, but, very naturally, they wanted to choose their commander, and they did not see why he should be a young man from Kildare, who had spent the few years of his manhood out of Ireland. Eventually Edward's regiment, about 500 strong, was mainly composed of English Royalists, including some of his old comrades of the Preston campaign, and of men who had known his family in Kildare.

In spite of his difficulties, Edward's regiment seems to have been one of the first ready to take the field. For when Ormond decided to move on Dublin he sent Lord Castlehaven in advance into Leinster with 5,000 foot and 1,000 horse, half of the latter being Edward's regiment. Castlehaven marched in the second week of May, and on the 9th invested Maryborough, which capitulated on the 16th. On the 21st Athy was captured, and a few days later Edward was in sight of his old home. He had to wait on the upper Liffey, where there was good feed for his horses, till the main body came up. Ormond began his advance from Kilkenny on June 1 with 6,000 foot and 2,000 horse and reached Kildare, but could go no farther till he had collected money and supplies. There is little doubt that if he could have marched straight on

Dublin he would have taken the city, for Jones was in real straits for want of food, and reported to Cromwell, when a ship-load of corn reached him on June 6, that till then there had been only six days' supply of food in the city. On June 14 Ormond received £3,000, and was joined by 2,000 of Inchiquin's men, so he resumed his advance. In a council of war held at Naas it was decided to attack Dublin at once, on the sensible grounds that when Dublin was captured other places would make little resistance, and that if the attack were delayed Jones would probably be reinforced from England.

So Ormond moved forward and on June 16 met Jones, who had sallied out to delay his advance. Jones was outnumbered and out-manceuvred and forced to return into the city. On the 21st Ormond crossed the Liffey West of Dublin and occupied Phoenix Park, and while there the council of war had a look at the defences of the city. It decided that these were too strong to be taken by assault, and that the proper course was to blockade Dublin and in the meantime reduce the outlying places occupied by the enemy. Inchiquin was then sent North to reduce Drogheda and Dundalk, and to cover him Ormond moved his headquarters to Finglas, some four miles North of Dublin. The strange thing is that after this division Ormond wrote to the King in a more optimistic tone than ever, though there was no prospect of his army getting any stronger, and every chance that Jones would be reinforced. There was a month's delay, and that delay was fatal. Drogheda surrendered to Inchiquin on July 11 and Dundalk on the 24th, whereupon he rejoined Ormond. But by the 26th three regiments of foot and one of horse under Reynolds, now a Colonel, had arrived in Dublin, and Jones had become as strong as the besiegers.



ENVIRONS OF DUBLIN, 1649

By the time Inchiquin had rejoined Ormond, reports had come in that Cromwell's preparations for an invasion were well advanced, and it was said that landings would be attempted on the coast of Munster. To guard against this Ormond sent Inchiquin South with 2,000 men to secure the Southern ports. He had moved his main body across the Liffey and taken up his headquarters at Rathmines, a few miles South of the city. The only meadows Jones had at his disposal to feed his cattle and Reynolds' horses lay East of the town, beyond Trinity College, and on July 29th Ormond sent a body of cavalry to drive off these horses and cattle ; but the raiding party was driven off with loss, and he then decided on an operation on a larger scale. The meadows could be commanded from the old castle of Baginbun,¹ from which the mouth of the Liffey could be brought under gunfire. So on the night of August 1-2 General Pincell with 1,500 foot was sent to seize the castle, but he lost his way in the dark, and did not reach his destination till shortly before dawn. While he was engaged in repairing the defences of the castle, Jones fell on him with superior force, and captured the place with such ease that he decided to go on and attack Ormond's main body at Rathmines. Ormond himself and a good many of his men had been up all night, and were asleep when they were attacked. The surprise was complete, and Ormond's army collapsed like a castle of cards ; whole regiments fled or surrendered, and those left at Finglas refused to march when sent for. Only one small body of men in that army made a resolute stand. Says Carte : " The fate of the English that day was to be most of them either slain or taken prisoners. A small party of them under Colonel Wogan got a great

¹ The English soldier, with his unique way of translating difficult names into his vernacular, later christened this place Beggar's Bush, and Beggar's Bush barracks were known to generations of British soldiers.

reputation for their behaviour, who being gotten together defended themselves so gallantly and with so much resolution against the whole power of the enemy, that, at last, after a great slaughter, they made conditions for themselves before they could be forced to yield." It was fortunate for Edward that Cromwell had not arrived, for he certainly would not have allowed him conditions. By these he was allowed to march off with his men, and making his way South to join Inchiquin at Youghal, where he arrived in the second week of August, he tumbled straight into another adventure.

The news which had reached Ormond that landings would be attempted in the South was correct, and to prepare the way for them a certain Colonel Richard Townsend, an officer of Inchiquin's, had secretly become an agent for Cromwell. He organized a plot to seize the town of Youghal and make Inchiquin a prisoner, and won over the Governor of Youghal, Sir Piercy Smith, to join in the plot. An officer who knew of the conspiracy escaped and told Inchiquin what was afoot. Townsend was at once arrested, but Sir Piercy, expecting the expedition from England, closed the gates of Youghal and made Edward and his party, who had just arrived, prisoners. Inchiquin promptly invested the place, and Smith, finding that he had been premature, surrendered on a promise of indemnity. Hardly had he done so when Ireton, with a part of the expeditionary force, appeared off Youghal just too late. Ireton then sailed North and joined Cromwell, who had landed at Dublin on August 15.

Jones's victory had, in fact, decided the issue of the war in Ireland, for Ormond was never again able to put into the field an army which could oppose the Parliamentary forces. He still wrote, hopefully, of bringing in the young King to keep together the disruptive elements which he led; but the march of events made this

impossible, and he had to content himself with garrisoning castles and fortified towns. Cromwell's first act as soon as he was ready to move, was to march on Drogheda—a sound plan, as a garrison was needed in that place to cover Dublin against O'Neill and Monro, and to prevent interference with the operation in Munster which he had in mind. How Drogheda was taken and what followed is well known. Cromwell had come to Ireland as the avenger of the atrocities of 1641, and for these he held all Irish Roman Catholics equally to blame. In defence of the massacre of Drogheda he wrote: "I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon those barbarous wretches who have imbued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood in the future, which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret"¹—the stock German excuse for atrocities in war. The massacre of Drogheda was finished on September 12, and Cromwell then turned South, leaving Jones in control in the North. On October 11 the story of Drogheda was repeated at Wexford; and a week later Cromwell summoned New Ross, which was held by Sir Lucas Taaffe, one of Ormond's chief lieutenants. Taaffe asked for leave to depart for his soldiers and such of the people as wished to go, and for liberty of conscience to such as stayed. "I meddle not with any man's conscience" Cromwell answered, "but if by liberty of conscience you mean liberty to exercise the mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know where the Parliament of England have power that will not be allowed ye."² A curious statement to come from the protagonist of liberty of conscience amongst Protestants.

¹ Carlyle, Letter CV.

² Carlyle, Letter CX.

The fall of Wexford and New Ross were heavy blows to Ormond, who at once took steps to prevent the same fate from befalling Waterford. The defence of that place depended mainly on two castles, Duncannon and Passage, which lay on either side of the estuary of the Suir, eleven miles below the town. Of the two Duncannon was much the more important, for it commanded not only the approach to Waterford harbour, but the surrounding country to the South and South-east. Its defences had been much improved in Elizabeth's reign when the Spaniards were attempting landings in Ireland. They were of considerable extent, and covered about four acres of ground. The main fort was built on a rock which jutted out into the estuary, and on this side there were three batteries which, even if their guns were antique, were good enough to command the comparatively narrow channel. On the land side there was a deep ditch, and behind this a formidable rampart with two towers and two sally-ports connected by a drawbridge. The commander of this important place was a Captain Thomas Roche, who had been a disciple of Rinuccini. Ormond visited the place, exhorted the garrison to stand firm, and promised them relief if they were attacked ; but the dread of sharing the fate of Drogheda and Wexford was too much for most of the Irish soldiers of the garrison, who began to desert in numbers and Roche told Ormond that the place could not be held. Thereupon, on October 23, Ormond appointed Edward to the command of Duncannon Castle and gave him one hundred and twenty of his English bodyguard to reinforce such of his own men as he had been able to keep together. When Edward took over, he found the castle deficient in provisions and powder, and the town of Waterford, fearful of committing itself, refused to supply him. It needed Castlehaven's personal intervention to get the

necessary stores into the place, and they arrived just in time. This was not the only trouble which confronted the new commander, for when the leaders of the Catholic party heard that Roche had been dismissed they protested to Ormond that this was a breach of the Kilkenny agreement, by which Roman Catholics were to be maintained in the positions they held, and Ormond was obliged to send Roche back ; but he insisted that he should serve under Edward, whose tact seems to have solved the difficulty, for the two got on quite well.

After the fall of New Ross Cromwell decided to cross the Suir above Waterford and march into Munster, where one place after another surrendered to him, large numbers of Inchiquin's Protestants deserting and joining him. He detached Jones, who had rejoined him from the North, with 2,000 men to capture Waterford, and as a first step towards this Jones advanced on Duncannon Castle and invested it on the land side only to be met with such an unexpectedly stout resistance that he had to sit down to a regular siege in vile weather, which soon began to affect the health of his men. Edward managed to keep open communications by water both with Passage and with Waterford, and on November 3 he received a visitor, with whom he concocted a plan after his own heart. Castlehaven tells the story :

The Marquis of Ormond had returned over the bridge at Ross and encamped on the Kilkenny side. From there he sent me to Passage, in the county of Waterford over against Ballyhack, to look after the relieving of Duncannon, besieged by some of Cromwell's people. I think Ireton commanded. And though there were parliament ships before it, I ventured one morning with a boat and got into the place to the Governor, a brave gentleman, one

Colonel Wogan, whom the Lord-lieutenant had sent some time before thither to command : and with him besides the Irish garrison, about a hundred English officers who had served the King in the wars of England. This gentleman, from the highest part of the rampart, showed me how the enemy lay. After I had well considered all, I offered to send him that night by sea eighty horses with saddles and pistols, if he would mount them with so many of his English officers, and before day, with them and some foot, make a sharp sally on the enemy. He liked the proposal extremely, but doubted much my performance, it being about three miles by sea. I desired him to leave that to me, I assured him he should shortly be satisfied of what I undertook. Having thus concluded, I took boat, returned and immediately set myself to my business that I might lose no time, because the tide served at the beginning of the night ; and having provided boats, I commanded eighty horse to go to the sea-side. I caused them to be boated out of hand and sent them away. They all came to Duncannon safe and undiscovered ; all was executed as designed, great slaughter made, and the cannon seized. For the confusion among the enemy was great, by reason that they judged it the falling in of an army from abroad, seeing horses come against them, and knowing of none in the fort. Our people retiring before day, the enemy raised the siege and marched off.¹

Castlehaven says a good deal of his part in this affair and not much of Edward's. He had led the sally which took Jones so completely by surprise—a pretty revenge for Rathmines. The moral effect of this, the first success

¹ *Castlehaven Memoirs*, p. 116.

won by the Royalists since Cromwell's landing, was great, particularly in Waterford.

Owen Roe O'Neill died about the time when the siege of Duncannon Castle was raised, but before his death he had sent a part of his army under General Ferrall South to reinforce Ormond, who asked Ferrall to march to the aid of Waterford. Ormond had no choice in the matter, for Waterford was under the influence of its Bishop, who had been a leading supporter of Rinuccini, and, instigated by the Bishop, the Mayor of Waterford told Ormond that he would allow no Protestants into the town. Cromwell heard the news of the failure to take Duncannon Castle when he was lying sick at Ross, and as soon as he had recovered he decided to deal with Waterford himself. He had secured the bridge over the Suir at Carrick, and crossing the river there he approached Waterford from the North-west, arriving before the town on November 24, when he opened negotiations with the Mayor while waiting for his heavy artillery. He used the interval in sending Ireton with a detached force to capture Passage; and Ireton, attacking the place from the West, where he was out of range of Edward's guns, captured it after a brief siege.

Edward did not take this rebuff passively. Just at the time of the surrender of Passage Ferrall reached Waterford with 2,000 Ulstermen, and Edward, who was in communication with Waterford by water, devised a plan for the recapture of the fort. He arranged to take as many men as he could raise and some of his guns across the river by night, while Ferrall was at the same time to send a detachment down the river and combine with him in an attack on Passage. Edward succeeded in his part of the programme; he brought his men, with two heavy guns and a mortar from the Duncannon batteries over the river and began the attack, being joined by Major O'Neill

with a detachment of Ferrall's Ulstermen, but Ferrall's supporting force was late, for the Mayor of Waterford, probably fearful of allowing any more of the defenders to leave the place, refused to supply the necessary boats. Meanwhile Cromwell, finding that owing to bad weather, sickness among his troops, and Ferrall's arrival, a siege would be impossible, had on December 2 decided to move off ; but on hearing of Edward's attack on Passage he ordered a detachment to go to the relief of the place. His account of what happened given in a letter to the Speaker dated December 19, 1649, is the best which we have of this affair. After explaining the reasons which led him to give up the siege of Waterford, he goes on :

But yet there hath been some sweet at the bottom of the cup, of which I shall now give you an account. Being informed that the enemy intended to take in the Fort of Passage, and that Lieutenant General Farrell with his Ulsters was to march out of Waterford, with a considerable party of horse and foot for that service, I ordered Colonel Zauchy (who lay on the north side of the Blackwater) to march with his regiment of horse, and two pieces of two troops of dragoons to the relief of our friends, which he accordingly did, his party numbering in all about three-hundred-and-twenty. When he came some few miles from the place, he took some of the enemy's stragglers in the villages as they went, all which he put to the sword : seven troopers of his killed thirty of them in one house. When he came near the place he found the enemy had close begirt it, with about five hundred Ulster foot under Major O'Neale ; Colonel Wogan also, the Governor of Duncannon, with a party of his, with two great battering guns and a mortar piece, and Captain Browne, the

Governor of Ballehack was there also. Our men furiously charged them and beat them from the place. The enemy got into a place where they might draw up, and the Ulsters, who bragged much of their pikes, made indeed for the time a good resistance, but the horse pursuing closely upon them, killed near a hundred upon the place ; took three-hundred-and-fifty prisoners, amongst which Major O'Neale, and the officers of the five-hundred Ulster foot, all but those which were killed ; the renegade Wogan, with twenty-four of Ormond's Kurissees,¹ and the Governor of Ballehack.²

The attack had come from an unexpected direction, and poor Edward was a prisoner. Cromwell had him sent to Cork to be in the custody of Colonel Phayre, who put a marshal in charge of him, and there he awaited trial by court-martial, which Cromwell intended should condemn him to death. On learning this, a number of Ormond's officers urged Ferrall (Cromwell always spells his name Farrell) to tell Cromwell that if Wogan was executed a Captain Caulfield, who was a prisoner of war, would be put to death. Cromwell wrote to Ferrall from Cork on January 4, 1650, proposing certain exchanges of prisoners of war, and continuing :

But having lately received an advertisement, that some of the principal officers of the Irish Army did send menacing orders to the Governor of Clonmel, to be communicated to the Lord Broughhill, that if we did put to death Colonel Woogan, that they were ready to put Captain Caulfield to death—I thought fit to offer to you the equal exchanges before mentioned ; leaving you to your election, which when

¹ Cuirassiers—Ormond's bodyguard.

² Carlyle, Letter CXVII.

you perform, there shall be just and honourable performance on my part. And withal to let you know, that if any shall put such conditions to me, that I may not execute a person so obnoxious as Woogan—who did not only betray his trust in England, but counterfeited the General's hand, thereby to carry his men (whom he seduced) into a foreign nation, to invade England, under whom he had taken pay and from whose service he was not discharged, and with the same nation did invade England ; and hath since, contrary to the said trust taken up arms here : that then I say as I am willing to the exchanges aforesaid ; so if that equality be denied me, I would that all concerned should understand, that I am resolved to deal with Colonel Woogan as I shall see cause, and be satisfied in my conscience and judgment to do. And if anything thereupon shall be done to Captain Caulfield as is menaced, I think fit to let you know, that I shall as God shall enable me, put all those that are with me at mercy for life, into the same condition.¹

The venom of this letter may be accounted for by Cromwell's anger at a threat, but there is no doubt that he intended to have Edward executed before he learned of the threat, and it is difficult to explain his desire to be revenged on a gallant enemy. Changing sides in a civil war is a very different thing from desertion to a foreign enemy, and in this war it had become a common event. Actually when Cromwell was writing this angry letter he was flirting with Inchiquin, in the hope of getting him to change sides once more. However, a fortnight later Cromwell's anger had cooled, for on January 16 he wrote again to Ferrall :

¹ Carlyle, Vol. III, Appendix 16.

In case you insist upon Col. Woogan, I expect Captain Caulfield and his officers and soldiers for him.¹

In the event Edward solved the problem, for exerting all his charm of manner on the marshal in charge of him, he not only induced him to let him escape, but took him with him. They got away to Limerick, whence Edward rejoined Ormond. The news of Edward's escape again roused Cromwell's fury; on February 22 letters from Ireland informed Parliament "that Wogan, that murderous, revolted fellow, had escaped out of prison, and Colonel Phayre's marshal, in whose custody he was, being corrupted, fled with him".² On April 26 Cromwell added to a cartel for the exchange of prisoners of war this note :

Provided that all come off within thirty days, and that no benefit thereof shall extend to Col. Woogan or the Marshal that went off with him out of Cork.³

As soon as the weather made active operations possible, Cromwell besieged Kilkenny, which capitulated on March 28, and soon afterwards a deputation from Inchiquin's Protestant followers came to him to ask for terms. On April 21 he signed an agreement to allow all Protestants who had been in arms against Parliament to go to the continent or to those parts of Ireland which were under his control. He hoped to include both Ormond and Inchiquin in this agreement, and offered to provide them with passes, but both refused to enter into any negotiations with him.

Ormond's position was becoming increasingly difficult, for the number of Protestants who accepted his lead had

¹ Carlyle, Vol. III, Supplement No. 54.

² Whitlocke, p. 426.

³ Carlyle, Vol. III, Supplement No. 58.

dwindled until they were no longer a force to be reckoned with, while the surrender of the Protestants to Cromwell increased the distrust of the Catholics, who included Ormond in this distrust and hinted that it was time he resigned. But Cromwell had not yet conquered more than the Western and Southern counties ; the greater part of Ulster, the whole of Connaught and South-western Munster still held out, and though there was little unity of purpose amongst the defenders Ormond felt it his duty to remain and make the best of things. He found Edward, as a Catholic, a useful envoy with those Irish forces which, realizing the importance of leadership, had not yet thrown him over, and he was employed on missions to Clanricarde, Ferrall and others.

Having concluded his agreement with the Munster Protestants, Cromwell appeared on April 27 before Clonmel, which was defended by Hugh O'Neill with 1,200 Ulstermen. As soon as the batteries had made a breach Cromwell ordered an assault, which was repulsed with very heavy loss, and O'Neill then slipped away with his men by night, leaving the Mayor to make the best terms he could with Cromwell, whose last venture in Ireland this was.

Parliament, alarmed by the news that Charles II was negotiating with the Scots, who were busily engaged in improving and expanding their army, recalled Cromwell to deal with this menace ; and he, handing over to Ireton the task of finishing the conquest of Ireland, sailed for England on May 26, leaving behind him a name which for centuries made any lasting understanding between England and the Catholics of Southern Ireland impossible.

Ormond hoped to be able to hold the line of the Shannon together with Central and Western Ulster against Ireton, and was hard at work tackling the

difficulties which personal jealousies, ancient feuds, and private interests raised in the way of gathering and keeping together adequate forces, when that task was made impossible by the arrival in Ireland of the news that the King had come to terms with the Scottish Covenanters, and pledged himself to abolish the Roman Catholic religion in his realms.

This caused a great stir amongst the Irish Catholics ; Limerick and Galway refused to admit Ormond, and a conference of most of the Catholic Bishops, after a prolonged discussion, issued a declaration against the continuance of His Majesty's authority in the Lord Lieutenant, and threatened with excommunication all who supported Ormond. Some of the prelates actually raised forces in support of this declaration, amongst them the Bishop of Killaloe, whose activities in the North-west of County Cork seemed likely to open the way to Limerick for Ireton. Ormond then sent Edward in command of a force against the Bishop, whom he defeated and took prisoner. This was Edward's last adventure in Ireland. On October 13 the Dean of Tuam, who had been in Scotland, arrived in Ireland with a message from Charles for Ormond. In this the King expressed his deep appreciation of Ormond's services, explained that he had signed the terms which the Scots had presented to him under duress, and that he had not changed his faith. Realizing that Ormond's position as a Protestant had become very difficult, he authorized him to hand over the Lord Lieutenancy to Lord Clanricarde and go to France. After making the necessary arrangements with Clanricarde, Ormond sailed for France, taking Inchiquin and Edward with him.

CHAPTER VII

THE WORCESTER CAMPAIGN

■

WHEN Charles II landed in Scotland, he found himself to be little better than a State prisoner of the Kirk party. He was sent to Gowrie House, an ominous residence for a sovereign, there kept under close supervision, and made to do as he was told. Naturally he was furious at this treatment, and he shed no tears over Dunbar, for that battle was a defeat for the Kirk party. The pastors had promised victory for the godly if they were firm in their faith in the Covenant, and had contributed in no small measure to the defeat by purging the army on the eve of the battle of many of its best officers, as not being of the true faith, and putting in their place their sons and hangers-on, whose one qualification was their capacity for rousing religious fanaticism.

Cromwell, with his usual quick grasp of a situation, wrote the day after Dunbar : " Surely it's probable that Kirk has done this too. I believe their King will set up on his own score now, wherein he will find many friends."¹ After a brief struggle with the Kirk party, who were unwilling to surrender immediately, the King did set up on his own score. The Engagers, led by Hamilton, brother of the Duke, who had been executed after Preston, and Lauderdale, defying the proscription of the Kirk, came back, and Charles found himself free to exercise some authority.

David Leslie, who, having defeated an attempt by the Kirk to get rid of him, remained in command of the army, fell back on Stirling and took up a position South of that

¹ Carlyle, Letter CXLI.

place, which Cromwell found to be too strong to make attack inviting. Charles, after an abortive attempt to raise an army of his own in the Highlands, came back to Stirling, patched up an agreement between the rival parties, and set about helping Leslie to fill the gaps in the army resulting from Dunbar.

The news that Charles had broken the tyranny of the Kirk and had an army in being about Stirling reached Paris in February, not long after Edward had arrived in the French capital. He had kissed the hand of the Queen Mother, but found nothing attractive in an impoverished and exiled court. Henrietta Maria had barely the means to maintain herself and her entourage, and did not welcome the idea of feeding other mouths. So, as soon as Edward heard that there was still work to be had in Scotland in which he could take a hand, he collected a party of about twenty, made his way to Rouen, and there got a boat, which landed him at Oban about the end of March 1651; and he and his men reached Stirling in the first week of April. He was now a famous character in Royalist circles, and for the third time he was set to raise a regiment of cavalry.

By the end of December 1650, Cromwell had reached Edinburgh Castle and was in control of Scotland South of the Forth and the Clyde. As soon as the weather made campaigning possible he endeavoured to entice Leslie from his position, but Leslie had learned the lesson of Dunbar and refused to be drawn; so Cromwell devised another and a bolder plan. The Scottish Army at Stirling depended for its supplies on the Highlands, and Cromwell, who knew that Middleton had been sent North to raise reinforcements and bring them South, proposed to cut Charles' communications with what was, in fact, his main base. In November 1650, Blake had defeated Rupert and destroyed the greater part of the

Royalist fleet ; this gave Parliament command of the sea, and Cromwell control of the Forth. He used this to form a bridge-head in the peninsula of North Queensferry, and by July 20 Lambert had 4,500 men entrenched there. Leslie sent a force of some 4,000 under Sir John Brown to turn them out, an under-estimate of the need. Lambert attacked Brown and defeated him after a stiff fight in which the MacLeans, in particular, made a gallant resistance. Cromwell followed up this success by capturing Inchgarvie and Burntisland, and then, leaving Monk to watch Stirling, moved his main body across the Firth of Forth. On August 2, Perth surrendered to him, and he had achieved his purpose of placing himself across Leslie's communications with the Highlands.

This move left Western England open to the Scots army, and the alternatives before it were either to fight Cromwell or to cross the Border. It was clearly not strong enough to attempt the former, so it had either to invade England or give up the struggle. The project of invasion had been discussed for some time, and a number of attempts had been made to rouse the Royalists of England on the promise of help from Scotland. Nothing had come of these, but there was hope that if the King himself appeared at the head of an army there would be a better response. So on July 31 Leslie's army moved out of Stirling towards Carlisle.

Most historians write of this army as if it were of not much account, but in fact it was, except in number, far superior to the one which had invaded England in 1648. The Kirk had allowed Charles, while he was at Gowrie House, to raise a regiment of Life Guards and to re-create the Scots Guards regiment, which had been formed under warrant from his father. There was a nucleus of experienced men from the old regiments to help the new ones. Both regiments had fought well at Dunbar, and

their losses had been made good. On January 16, 1651, the Committee of Estates had authorized the expansion of the Scots Guards to ten companies, those chosen for the regiment to be "the choicest men of the army, and such as are desirable to be of His Majesty's Regiment".¹ There was some good Lowland stuff in the infantry, but the Highlanders were but poorly equipped and unaccustomed to manœuvres in close order. There was good material too in the cavalry commanded by Middleton, who got back from the Highlands in time. The artillery, Turner tells us, consisted of some field pieces and leather cannon, with suitable ammunition. Leslie and Middleton were much better generals than Hamilton and Callander had been in the Preston campaign, and Massey, Montgomery and Dalyell, who led brigades, were experienced men. The defect in the army was not its quality but its quantity. The Scottish records of the campaign are meagre, and there are differences as to numbers. Sir James Turner, who again took the field as Adjutant General, says that the army marched out of Stirling with about 4,000 horse and upwards of 9,000 foot. This I believe to be an under-estimate; a force of that size would not have turned aside the cavalry which Cromwell sent to delay it; on the other hand, I think Gardiner's estimate of 20,000 is too high. There is general agreement that the horse numbered about 4,000, and the best check on the number of the foot is the extent of the positions which they occupied in the battle of Worcester. On that basis I estimate the infantry at 12,000, calculating that the number of English Royalists who joined in the march about set off the losses by sickness and desertion. This was an absurdly small force with which to attempt the conquest of England, and everything depended on the response of the English

¹ *Reg. of Committee of Estates*, 1651, Appendix 3.

Royalists when it appeared. There was another serious defect : the train was quite inadequate to carry the necessary reserves of ammunition and supplies.

In this army Edward again led a cavalry regiment, in Middleton's command. There were a good many Scots in it, for the Royalist refugees in Scotland had been so badly treated that their zest for fighting alongside Scots had diminished. The army was to march through country with which Edward was very familiar ; he was about to cover the country between Carlisle and Preston for the fourth time, and he knew well the ground between Preston and Worcester, so naturally he was allotted to the advance guard. Charles entered Carlisle on August 6, and there he was proclaimed, with ceremony, King of England. Reminded of the disastrous effect of the behaviour of Hamilton's men in 1648, he issued strict orders against looting, and as a warning, three marauders were publicly hung in Carlisle. Turner, who as Adjutant General was responsible for discipline, says that as a result of this the march to Worcester was carried out in good order ; and this is confirmed from Lancashire. Edward Robinson, in his *Discourse of the Lancastrian War*, says :

In August he (the King) marched through the county carying very faire and peaceably without plundering or any other violency all the county through, not offering to force or compell any to comply or join with them unlesse they voluntarily offered themselves, only provision for this Army was required in a faire and mild way. This faire carying tooke much with the County, and won their harts soe fair that many said and were well persuaded they would prevaile, their candour and courage was soe amiable. They made no stay or abode in any place over a night or two. The young King rode

through Preston mounted on horseback, and they said he rode through every street to be seen by these People. Yet it was observed that he received small entertainment there, only one woman who seemed to show more respect to him than all the townes besides, which it was said was some greefe to him.¹

The people were sick of war, and old memories of Scottish marauders could not be wiped out by a proclamation. The previous attempts to organize risings in England had put Parliament on its guard, and many of the leading Royalists of North-western England were put under restraint or had fled to escape arrest, and their followers left to themselves showed no zeal to help a Scottish army. Edward, who went ahead to gather supplies, found little of the friendly help he had received on his march through Westmorland and Cumberland in 1648. The first news of him, in this invasion, came from the Kendal Watchdog, who writing on August 16 reported :

This day sennight Renegade Wogan came into Kendal, with some troops, and charged the town to provide for 1,000 horse.²

It has often been suggested that this move of the Scottish army took Cromwell by surprise, and it is true that he did not get news of it till August 2, when its advance guard was already over the Border. It is, however, more than probable that he got information of discussions of such a plan in the Royal headquarters, for the Royalists were bad at keeping secrets ; and it is certain that, like a good soldier, he had prepared for such an event. For when he invaded Fife and thereby laid open the approaches to Western England, he sent

¹ *A Discourse of the War in Lancashire*, Chetham Society, p. 70.

² *Civil War Tracts of Lancashire*, p. 287.

Harrison with some 3,000 horse to watch the Border, and posted Lambert with another 3,000 in reserve near Edinburgh. When he learned that the Scottish army had marched South-west from Stirling, he at once ordered Lambert to join Harrison and harass its march, left Monk to watch Stirling, and moved off with his main body for the Border. As in 1648, he decided to march East of the Pennines, this time in the reverse direction, rather than follow Charles directly. In this way he could more quickly cover the approaches to London against an attack from the West.

On reaching Leith he wrote to the Speaker telling him that in his opinion this invasion was the best thing that could have happened, as it would enable him to bring the enemy to battle more speedily than was possible in the Scottish Highlands.

We pray therefore that, seeing there is a possibility for the enemy to put you to some trouble, you would, with the same courage grounded upon a confidence in God, wherein you have been supported to the great things God hath used you in hitherto, improve, the best you can, such forces as you have in readiness as may on the sudden be gathered together to give the enemy some check until we shall have been able to reach up to him, which we trust to the Lord we shall do our utmost endeavour in¹.

Thus urged, Parliament called out the militia of a number of counties, and while they were assembling Cromwell crossed the Border at Kelso and marched hard southwards through Durham and Rotherham.

Harrison had been busy collecting his patrols scattered along the Border, and on August 13 he and Lambert joined forces in Yorkshire on the Don. Learning there

¹ Carlyle, Letter CCXX.

that some 3,000 Cheshire and Staffordshire militia were out and prepared to dispute the passage of the Mersey, they marched to join them with some 6,000 men.¹ On August 16 there was a fight for the bridge over the Mersey at Warrington. This is the account of the affair given in the Perfect Diurnall :

This day came Letters from Lieut. Gen. Lambert and Major Gen. Harrison as followeth : On the 16 of August the enemy came on with their whole Army and prest to pass at the bridge and Fort neere it, which we had broken down and spoyled as well as we could in so short a time. A company of our Foot were drawn down to the Barracadoe of the Bridge, who behaved themselves gallantly and gave the enemy opposition till we saw cause to draw off, securing their retreat by parties of Horse, which we did because we were unwilling to engage our Army where our Horse could not doe service through the enclosures. The enemy thereupon hastened over their whole Army, and their King in the van, if not forlorne, with his own Lifeguard (as some prisoner told us since) and prest hard upon our Reare, whereof Col. Rich had the guard, who wheeled off parties, and charged them thrice as they came on, and the Lord every time caused the enemy to flie before us.

We killed the officer that commanded one of their parties, and two or three Troopers, and some countrymen since tell us that 28 of them were slain in the several skirmishes, and but foure of ours that I can heare of there and at the bridge. As they fell on they cried, " Oh you rogues, we will be with you before your Cromwell comes ", which made us think they would presse to engage us with all speed. We

¹ The numbers are Harrison's. *Civil War Tracts of Lancashire.*

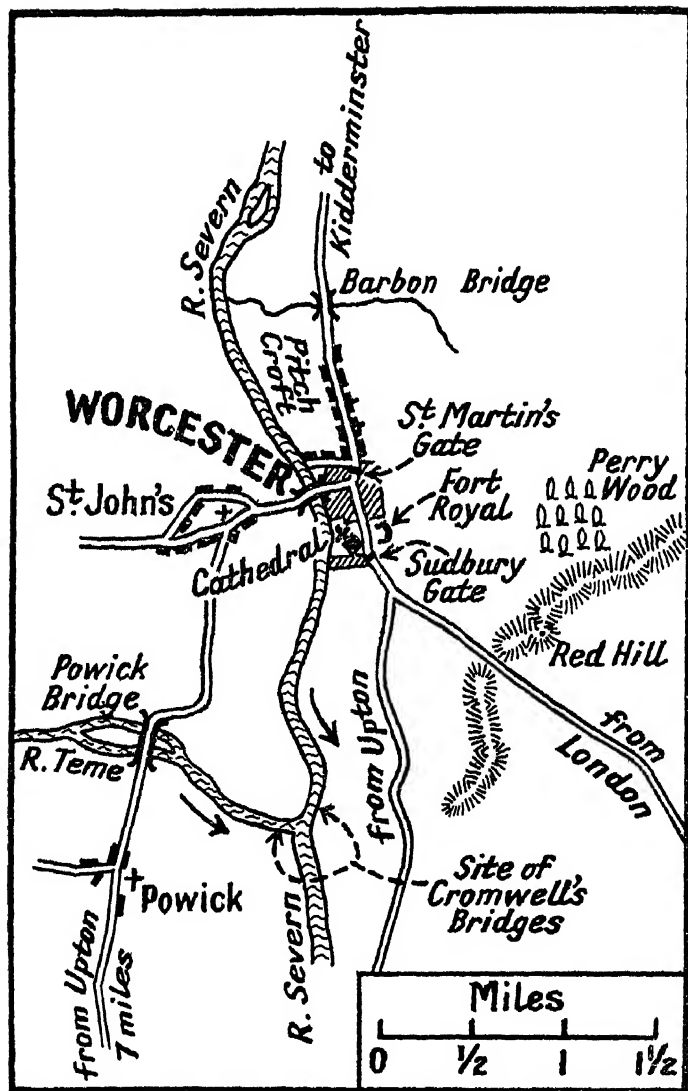
are drawing up at Knotford (Knutford) Moore to wait there ; but since we heare they marched a good part of the night on the London Road.¹

Harrison and Lambert, I fear, "*mentent comme un bulletin*". This account is a very poor excuse for a sorry performance. Their cavalry greatly outnumbered the whole of that of the Scottish army, and they had a good body of foot as well. It was clearly their business to do what Cromwell asked Parliament to do, "give the enemy some check until we shall have been able to reach up to him". The Mersey at Warrington afforded plenty of scope for this to a well-handled body of men. The excuse that "our Horse could not do service through the enclosures" won't do. Langdale and Edward with their mounted troops made excellent use of enclosures on Preston Moor to delay Cromwell, when in numbers they were in a much worse position. In fact, the delay imposed on the Scottish army on the Mersey was trifling, and Lambert and Harrison never stayed it for an hour between Warrington and Worcester—a clear indication that they had to draw off and lick their wounds. I hazard a guess that the challenge "Oh you rogues, we will be with you before your Cromwell comes" came from the English of Edward's regiment ; it does not sound as if it came from Scottish throats. After the action of Warrington, Harrison and Lambert retired eastwards to Knutsford Heath, which shows that their main preoccupation was to cover Cromwell's march, though he on the day of the action was still miles away, having just reached the Tees and entered Yorkshire ; and that they had abandoned their proper function of delaying Charles's march southwards, which if they had any confidence in their power, they would have tried to do on the Weaver.

¹ *Civil War Tracts of Lancashire*, p. 289.

Warrington was a real encouragement to the Scottish army, but it was their only encouragement. All hopes had been centred on the Earl of Derby, whom Charles had summoned from the Isle of Man to meet him. Derby arrived with a pitifully small contingent of 60 horse and 200 foot, and met his King on the 17th at Stoke. It was then agreed that Derby should remain behind to rouse Lancashire while Charles continued his march to Worcester. But Derby's call to his county met with a poor response, and the small force he raised was defeated at Wigan, on August 25, by Lilburne, who had been reinforced by Cromwell, and Derby himself was wounded. The royal progress from the Mersey to the Severn had roused no enthusiasm, and it was a weary and dispirited force which entered Worcester on August 22, Cromwell having on that day crossed the Trent at Burton.

Worcester had always been Royalist in its sympathies, and was one of the last towns to hold out against Parliament. The Mayor and Corporation received Charles with all honour, and on the 23rd he was solemnly proclaimed King of England in the market-place, where he issued an order requiring all persons between the ages of sixteen and sixty to assemble on the 26th on Pitchcroft, an open space on the Severn, West of the town, and there enroll for the defence of their King and country. The Corporation busied itself in collecting shoes and stockings to make good the damages of the march, but there was no enthusiasm shown by the townsfolk for enlistment in the royal army. When the 26th came Lord Talbot appeared on Pitchcroft with about sixty followers, and about a score of other landowners of the neighbourhood came in with small parties, but that was all. There were no signs of the Royalist rising in the West which had been the supposed justification of the invasion.



BATTLE OF WORCESTER

When Worcester was captured by a Parliamentary force, in July 1646, its defences had been dismantled, and it was clearly impossible to put them into a state to stand a siege before Cromwell arrived ; it would therefore be necessary to fight him in the open. It was clear from the direction of his march that the attack would come either from the East or from the South, or from both, and the dispositions of the Scottish army were made accordingly. As a support to the defence of the Eastern front, the fortifications at Sudbury gate and Fort Royal were put into some repair. To protect the Southern front, Montgomery was ordered to entrench a position along the Teme from Powick Bridge, which was broken down, to the Severn, and Massey was sent South to Upton to secure the bridge there, the only crossing over the Severn between Gloucester and Worcester, and some seven miles below the latter town. Dalyell's brigade lay West of the town about St John's, in support of Montgomery, and Pitscottie's Highlanders watched the Severn between Worcester and the Teme ; the cavalry and the remainder of the foot were posted just East of the Sudbury gate on either side of the London road.

The first collision occurred on August 28. Massey had got to Upton Bridge and broken it down ; then, seeing a house about a mile in front which he thought would make a useful strongpoint to cover the approaches to the bridge, he had a few planks laid over the gap he had made, that he might be able to return, and advanced to the house, only to find it occupied by a party of Lambert's dragoons, who dispersed or captured the party and wounded Massey. Lambert's men, closely following Massey and such of his force as had escaped, got over the river, surprised Massey's main party, and secured and repaired the bridge. This was a bad beginning for the Royalists, for it enabled Cromwell, who had reached Evesham on the 27th, to

send Fleetwood's division across the Severn to attack Worcester from the South, while he attacked from the East. As he drew near Worcester he was joined by several of the contingents of the Militia which the counties had raised at the behest of Parliament, and these brought his strength up to 32,000, so that he could safely divide his forces.

With this superiority in numbers—Charles's army certainly did not number more than 16,000 men—and his advantage in leadership, Cromwell was bound to win, but the battle was not such a walk-over for him as a good many historians make out.¹ On August 29, while Fleetwood was crossing the Severn and moving North to the Teme, Cromwell advanced from Evesham and took up a position on Red Hill about a mile East of the Sudbury gate. Charles and his leaders examined his position and decided to attempt a surprise attack on it by Middleton's cavalry, in which was Edward's regiment, on the night of the 30th-31st. For this venture the cavalry put smocks or nightshirts over their armour to distinguish friend from foe. They sallied out as arranged, but Cromwell had been informed of the plan by a tailor in the town, and the attack was repulsed. Cromwell's men believed this to have been an attempt by the cavalry to cut a way out for the King, but Charles had no intention of deserting his army.

On the 31st Fleetwood tried to storm Powick Bridge, which was defended by the Scots Guards, who repulsed every attempt at a crossing. Cromwell, finding that Fleetwood was not going to have the easy passage over the Teme which was essential to the plan of enveloping the Scottish army, decided to bridge that river near its

¹ Mr J. W. Willis-Bund, *Victoria County History : Worcestershire*, Vol. II, p. 225 *et seq.*, is one of the few who does justice to the fight of the Scots army.

junction with the Severn, and the Severn a little above the junction, so that he could bring a force across to outflank Montgomery. So during the next two days, while the outposts were bickering, Cromwell busied himself in collecting boats and material for two bridges, and by the morning of September 3 all was ready for their construction.

The bridges were got into position under cover of artillery fire and Fleetwood was ordered to attack Powick bridge once more, while Lambert crossed the bridge which had been thrown across the Teme. Both attacks were beaten off and Cromwell then, leaving a force to keep Pitscottie's Highlanders occupied higher up the Severn, came himself with a brigade to the bridge over the Severn to help Lambert. Montgomery's Lowlanders put up a stout resistance, for when their ammunition was exhausted they clubbed their muskets and fought on. But the double attack was too much for them; they were overwhelmed and driven back towards the town in confusion. Fleetwood, following up, seized St John's and closed the Western exits of Worcester.

While this was going on, Cromwell's main body attacked Sudbury gate and Fort Royal, and here too they met stiff resistance. A gallant counter-attack led by the Duke of Hamilton got as far as Perry Wood and overran some of Cromwell's guns, but it was beaten back, Hamilton being mortally wounded, and after a hard fight the Cheshire Militia stormed Fort Royal, suffering heavily in the process.

Charles and his army were then hemmed into the town, and as a last desperate measure he proposed to head an attempt by the cavalry to break out, but Leslie's reserve of Scottish Horse refused to move. I take the story of what then happened from "An Impartial Pen", which

has better information from the Royalist side than other contemporary writers :¹

All appeared clearly lost, and His Majesty had undoubtedly been taken in the Town, had not the Earl of Cleveland, Sir James Hamilton, Colonel Wogan, Colonel Carlis, Captain Homgold, Captain Giffard, Captain Ashley, Captain Kemble and several other gallant persons rallied what force they could, and made a gallant opposition in Sudbury Street (where Sir James Hamilton and Captain Kemble were desperately wounded and many of note were slain) and thereby secured His Majesty's march with his body of Horse out of St Martin's,² where when he was got out, before he had marched half a mile, he made several stands, facing about, and desiring the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lord Wilmot, that they might once more rally and try the fortune of War, but at Barebone (Barbon) Bridge, where serious consultation was had, many of the Troopers being perceived to throw off their arms and shift for themselves ; the result was that all was irrecoverably lost, and that therefore His Majesty should endeavour to save himself.

Edward and his party held Barbon Bridge till dark, while the King with a small party got away by the Kidderminster road and began his adventurous wanderings. The *Boscobel Tracts*³ give the main credit for this gallant effort, which undoubtedly enabled Charles to escape, to Edward and his men, and I should like to have been able to accept that story ; but the *Impartial Pen*'s account seems to me much more probable. There is,

¹ *The Civil Wars, 1633 to 1660, by an Impartial Pen*, p. 321.

² The northern exit of the town.

³ Hughes, *Boscobel Tracts*, p. 35.

however, enough glory for all who shared in this desperate venture, in which quite likely Edward was the moving spirit.

Clearly it became a tradition in the Wogan family that Edward alone saved the King, for the Chevalier Wogan wrote to Swift on February 27, 1733, a long letter which is a tirade against Clarendon for his treatment of the Anglo-Irish Roman Catholics. In this letter he says, referring to Clarendon :

As for Colonel Wogan, he is so much in love with him, that he sinks the mention of his country, and though he (Edward) executed his purpose with wonderful courage and dexterity, he looks upon him as a little out of his senses, because he was extremely loyal and brave. He omits, however, giving him the honour of having saved the King's life at the battle, or rather the flight of Worcester, by the desperate stand he made at the head of 300 horse against Cromwell's whole army in the suburbs of that town till the King and Colonel Carlies were out of sight. How could the father King be maintained on his throne or the son be restored to it by his friends, since in the language of their dastard and corrupt councillors, all that was brave and loyal was mad ; and all that was thoroughly loyal and firm savoured of popery ? But as an instance of the unfair dealing of the English historians the glory of the escape at Worcester has almost been ascribed to their countryman Carlies ; as if it were more honourable to fly with the King, than to stop those that are in full chase of him.¹

We may forgive the Chevalier his indignation at the treatment of those of his faith in Ireland, but it is nonsense

¹ W. Scott, *Swift's Works*, Vol. XVIII, p. 40.

to talk of Edward making a stand against the whole of Cromwell's army. In fact, there was no energetic pursuit up the North road, the natural line of retreat for a Scots army, a clear indication that Cromwell's men had had as much as they wanted in taking Worcester. Nor is it fair to blame Clarendon for not mentioning Edward's part in the King's rescue, for judging from his account of his time with the New Model Army we may be pretty sure that he said nothing of his feat, particularly if, as I suggest, he was not alone in it ; but it is true that no English historians give him the credit which is his due.² Having seen the King off on the road to Kidderminster, Edward got across the Severn at Bridgenorth, made his way through Wales to Milford Haven, where he got a boat to take him to France, and reached Paris shortly after Charles arrived there.

² Andrew Lang, on the other hand, gives him, I think, too much, *History of Scotland*, Vol. III, p. 258.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LAST ADVENTURE

LIFE for the exiled Court was no more pleasant after the King's arrival than it had been during Edward's brief visit in 1649. Charles and the Queen Mother had barely the means to feed themselves, the Duke of York, Princess Henrietta, and their servants; few of the courtiers were able to maintain themselves with any comfort, "the Marquis of Ormond", says Clarendon, "himself being compelled to put himself in pension, with the Chancellor¹ and some other gentlemen with a poor English woman, the wife of one of the King's servants, at a pistole a week for his diet, and to walk the streets on foot, which was no honourable custom in Paris."²

The French King could do nothing to help, even had he been willing, for he, too, had a civil war on his hands. The Fronde had again raised its head, and the Paris mob was in a constant state of ferment. In the summer of 1652 it had for the second time driven out Mazarin, demanding the return of the Duke of Orleans and Condé; and rival armies lay outside the walls of Paris. For their better security Charles and his little Court were moved from the Louvre to St. Germain, where the French King provided them with a guard.

Waiting for something to turn up was trying to tempers in the little Court in Paris, and idleness bred gossip and quarrels. In the most important of the latter Edward became involved. In the winter of 1644 there had been, in the Royalist Command in the South-west of England,

¹ Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon.

² *Clarendon*, V, p. 232.

disputes which resulted in Sir Richard Grenville being placed under arrest. News of this reached Fairfax, and decided him to undertake the winter campaign in which Torrington was captured. It was rumoured in the Parliamentary Army, as Edward reported,¹ that this information had reached them through the treachery of Robert Long, then Secretary to the Prince of Wales. Long was an able man, but he was quarrelsome and lacking in tact, so that there were always people ready to hear ill of him, and in Royalist circles he was charged with being in treasonable communication with Essex. He was dismissed from his post with the Prince, but he strenuously denied the charges and convinced Henrietta Maria, with whom he became a favourite, of his innocence. She insisted on Charles taking him back when he became King, and he was appointed Secretary of State. In that position he had charge of such small funds as the King was able to raise, and as these were insufficient to maintain comfortable life in the Court he was accused of meanness and avarice. His unpopularity led to a revival of the old charge of treachery.

When Edward heard of this he repeated the story which had been current in the Parliamentary Army, and urged on by Long's enemies, he put it forth as a formal charge. Long made a spirited defence, and demanded an enquiry into Edward's accusations, but he had foolishly quarrelled with Hyde, and being unable to obtain satisfaction, he challenged Edward. To avoid the scandal of a duel, Edward was placed under house arrest until Long was sent away from Paris. From his room Edward wrote to his cousin, George Lane, who had served in his regiment in the Worcester campaign :

I shall ask you would be pleased to speak to my Lord² that he would be pleased to move the King

¹ See p. 58.

² Ormond.

for my enlargement. I cannot possibly lie thus, besides the reason for my confinement I know not, onlay that I would not suffer my honor to be called in question by a roge and a traytor, which I would rather die than suffer. Now be not forgetful of him that is

your most affectionate
kinsman to command,

From my chambers, Edward Wogan.¹
July 26, 1562.

As Long's estates were confiscated by Parliament and after the Restoration he returned to Court, becoming eventually Chancellor of the Exchequer, there does not seem to have been any foundation for the charge of treachery. Edward was released as soon as Long had left Paris and the incident certainly did him no harm either with Hyde or in Court circles generally.

Clarendon and Ormond were preaching patience, telling everyone that the only thing to be done was to avoid any action which would prejudice the Royal cause and to await opportunity. The little colony began to believe that they were right when the news arrived that the army had again quarrelled with Parliament, and that Cromwell had forcibly removed its bauble. "The rogues were falling out." Under this impression Edward wrote two letters, which having been intercepted, are preserved for us. The first of these is to a Mr Domech :

Deare Frind,

I know it is no small comfort to you, to hear what a sad destraction the rebelese are in in England. Sartinely they have butt a very short

¹ *Clar. MSS.*, 929.

time to rayne, and you shall find that God shall find means to rueine them one among aneather, which is much more to his glory than if we had become the alteres (authors) of their destruction. I have presented your service to his ex. (Ormond) who desires to have his presented to you.

The second letter, of the same date, June 19, 1653, was to Major-General Massey, who had never recovered from the effects of the wound he received at Worcester :

Our condition here at present is such that for nieus wee know not what to write, nor scares what to think. Yet I do not dispayre but that God will order the matter without our assistance, will find a way to reaintrone our King agayne; and I believe the greattis reason of your sickness is for your impaciency and freatting your seaffe in matters that concern the King. It is true that you do no more than what is your duty in endeavouring to serve your master, but you must give God leave to take his own time.¹

We can hear Ormond's voice in these letters, but not all Ormond's counsel could keep Edward quiet when a chance for action came.

It happened in the summer of 1652 that there was a stirring in the Highlands, and the King commissioned Middleton to go to Scotland and take command; but Middleton, who had escaped from the Tower after the battle of Worcester and joined the King in Paris, fell ill and could not go, so the King appointed Glencairn to act for him. Glencairn was supported by Lords Balcarres and Lorne. The rising spread, and a guerrilla warfare was carried on against Lilburne, who commanded Cromwell's forces in the Lowlands. But by the summer

¹ Thurloe, *State Papers*, Vol. I, p. 305 *et seq.*

of 1653, Glencairn found the rivalries of the Highland Chiefs too much for him, and he appealed to the King to send over Middleton, who had recovered, with a commission as Commander-in-Chief. Neither the King nor Middleton had much hope that anything of value would come of this, but they felt that Glencairn's request could not be ignored, so Middleton and Sir George Monro were sent to Holland in October to raise men, money and arms for the royal forces in the Highlands.

As soon as Edward heard of this, he was in a fever to be up and doing. He realized that he would have no influence in the Highlands, so he proposed to go to England and there raise and take to Scotland men to help Glencairn. Clarendon is not very accurate in what he tells us of Edward, but he was in close personal touch with him in Paris, and we may accept what he has to say about Edward's proposal, when it was broached. Edward being restless to be in action, no sooner heard of Middleton's being arrived in Scotland,¹ than he resolved to find himself with him ; and immediately asked the King's leave, not only for himself, but for as many of the young men about the Court as he could persuade to go with him, declaring to His Majesty that he resolved to pass through England. The King, who had much grace for him, dissuaded him from the undertaking, for the difficulty and danger of it, and denied to give him leave. But neither His Majesty nor the Marquis of Ormond could divert him ; and his importunity continuing, he was left to follow his inclinations ; and there was no news so much talked of in Court as that Captain Wogan would go into England, and from thence march into Scotland to General Middleton ; and

¹ This is the sort of mistake Clarendon often makes—Edward arrived in Scotland nearly two months before Middleton.

many young gentlemen and others, who were in Paris, listed themselves with men for the expedition. He went then to the Chancellor, who during the time of the King's stay in France executed the office of Secretary of State,¹ to desire the despatch of such persons, letters, and commissions as were necessary for the affair he had in hand. The Chancellor had much kindness for him ; but having heard by the common talk of the Court and from the loose discourses of some of those who resolved to go with him, presented the danger of the enterprise to himself, and the dishonour that would reflect upon the King for suffering men under his pass and with his commission to expose themselves to inevitable ruin ; that it was now the discourse of the town and would without doubt be known in England and to Cromwell before he and his friends would get thither, so that they would be apprehended the first minute in which they set foot on shore ; and how much his own particular person was more liable to danger than other men he knew well ; and upon the whole matter very positively dissuaded him from proceeding farther.

He answered most of the particular considerations with contempt of the danger and confidence of going through with it, but with no kind of reason (which was a talent that did not abound in him) to make it appear probable. Thereupon the Chancellor expressly refused to make his despatches till he could speak with the King ; whom he said he would do the best he could to persuade to hinder this journey ; with which the Captain was provoked to so great a passion that he broke into tears and besought him not to dissuade the King ; and seemed so much transported with the resolution of the adventure as if he would

¹ Vice Robert Long.

not outlive the disappointment. And this passion so far prevailed with the King, that he caused all his despatches to be made and delivered to him. And the very next day he and his companions, being seven or eight in number, went out of Paris together and took post for Calais.¹

The "despatches" included three letters signed by the King and addressed to Royalists in England. They ran :

This person may possibly be known to you, he is very well to me, to be an honest and gallant man and one who intends my service with all his heart. If you could furnish him with two hundred pounds he will dispose of it very well.²

The letters are dated November 2.

That Edward's intention of going to England became known in the Court was, I think, very probably due to the King, who was bad at keeping secrets. Edward was evidently warned by this, and would not disclose his plans to Hyde. This did not mean that he had not thought out carefully what he intended to do, and Clarendon's statement (which aroused the Chevalier's ire³) that he had "no kind of reason (which was a talent that did not abound in him)" is unjustified.

In fact his plans were as carefully made as those for his first expedition into Scotland in 1648. Armed with the documents which he had extracted from the Chancellor and the King, he proposed to collect a small band of chosen men and send them North in small parties, which would rendezvous at night in various places on the way, and gather strength as they got near the Border. He knew that if the news of his adventure got out in

¹ *Clarendon*, V, p. 314 *et seq.*

² *Clarendon MSS.*, 929.

³ See p. 143.

England it would be expected that he would travel by the West coast route, with which he was familiar ; so he decided to go by the East coast and do his recruiting amongst the Royalists of Durham and Northumberland.

He and his little party started from Paris on November 3, and reached London in disguise. He spent a little more than a fortnight there, choosing his men, raising money and buying horses, and arranged for a start to be made from Barnet Heath on November 21. All sorts of stories got about as to the strength of his party ; Clarendon says he started off with "full four score" ; in the *Clarendon MSS.* it is stated that he recruited fifty followers in London, and by some the number has been placed as high as 200. This romantic adventure naturally gave rise to a lot of gossip. Fortunately we have the facts from Edward himself. On the eve of his departure he wrote Ormond a letter which was intercepted, and is to be found in Thurloe's collection :

The reason that I have not writt all this time past was, fearing that the letters would be stopt, and to avoid the danger of being known to be in these parts. My besnes here is to be done, but not by those that I expected. To-morrow morning I intend to begin my journey towards my friends, with one and twenty in my company, and, by the help of God, I doubt not but that I shall come to my journey's end saffe with as many more. This I thought fitt to acquaint you and humbly desire, that your lordship would believe that you have not a more faithful servant than him that is resolved to continue.

My Lord,
your Lordship's most faithful servant.

London, November 20th, 1653.¹

¹ Thurloe, I, p. 607.

The little band, starting from Barnet Heath in twos and threes, moved by side roads and met occasionally to exchange information and make plans for the next marches.¹ I dismiss Clarendon's story that they rode into St Albans in the guise of Cromwellian soldiers and stayed there openly. This would have been pure foolhardiness, and is not in accord with the rest of the plan. They reached Durham, without incident, on November 30, having covered, as in 1648, about 25 miles a day. There Edward had intended to wait, rest his horses and start enlarging his command, but he there got news which made him change his plans. Another intercepted letter written to a friend, over the assumed name of Thomas Young, tells us of this :

Dear Tom,

These lines are only to inform you, how far we have proceeded in our march to overtake our troops, and to let you know how your brother has served me. For the journey, we are at present anchored at Durham and in safe harbour, but our stay must not be long heere, because the Highlanders have fell upon some of our quarters neere Edeenburgh (bold rogues) and cut neare a whole regiment offe, so that postes are speeded to London for fresh troopes, which will be the cause that we shall not rest and refresh our horses so long heere as we did intent, but must make all haste wee can possible to our regiments, to which place God in his infinite mercy send us safe. There are daily great outrages committed, but I hope eer some short time more is spent, we shall be able to quell and quiet them, that are our greatest enemies, to which all pious and zealous hearted men ought to say Amen.

¹ *Clarendon MSS.*, II, 1581.

Your brother and his comrade had orders to meet me at a certain place, which I appointed for a general rendezvous, when all did appear but them too. I staid some tow hours extraordinaire there, believing they would have come, but failing me, I was forct to march forward according to orders, for that now I doubt much of their company, believing they may have altered their resolutions. This change in them may proceed from the delicacy of the place, or the plenty of money they were the possessors of here at that present, being in a better condition than any with me. Before this comes to your perusal, you may know better what is become of him, with his reasons for his stay, and myselfe with my gang to be safe with our forces. I shall trouble you with no particulars heere, having neither time nor paper to write it, but in general to deliver all our dues and services to all our friends with you, with a vow of well wishes to Patch and his family. Thus you have this true relation of our progress from thine

Thomas Young

Durham December 3. 1653¹

The report that Lilburne's troops had suffered a reverse had gathered weight on its way to Durham and Edward. Lilburne in a letter to Cromwell from Dalkeith, dated November 15, 1653,² tells us what happened :

By my last I gave your Lordship an account of the increase of the Enime, and since that a party of them have invested so all the country between this and Glasgow and Stirling that noe small party of ours escapes them, the country is soe active for them, and treacherous to us. Three Captains of Col. Overton's

¹ Thurloc, I, p. 623.

² *Clarke MSS.*, LXXXVI, 123.

and some other officers with their wives, lay on Saturday night at Faulkirke, and about 10 or 11 of the clock in the night were sett upon and two of them taken, viz Townesend and Scrope, but much feare being upon the party they ventured only upon that one house, and took those prisoners and since that took two souldiers (going with orders at 11 o'clock in the night towards Glasgow) at Killsith, and yesternight they plundered the Lord Warriston near Edinburgh and the Lord Dundas.

Two officers and two soldiers taken prisoner had become when the news reached Durham "neare a whole regiment cut off". But if these raids were small affairs, Lilburne, who had at first taken the Highland rising lightly, was now seriously troubled, and he asked Cromwell for more horse and dragoons and a regiment of foot. This news told Edward that the moss-troopers were out in the Lowlands, and that reinforcements from Lilburne might be coming up from the South. He therefore decided to give up his plan of recruiting in Durham and Northumberland, and make for the Border at once.

So on December 4 the whole party rode boldly out of Durham, rounding up small parties of Cromwellian soldiers on their way. A party of horse was sent out from Newcastle to intercept them, and after a short brush was driven back. Edward and his men then crossed the Tyne and made for Berwick, and after capturing eighteen of their enemy outside the town, found the gates open for a fair that was in progress ; so they rode through the place in broad daylight, and were in Scotland before the townsfolk had recovered from their surprise. In the Lowlands, with the help of casual parties of moss troopers, they captured several small bodies of Lilburne's men, and entered Peebles on December 9, having ridden 450

miles in twenty days, which included a halt of three days in Durham. An observer in Peebles reported Edward's arrival to Lilburne in a letter dated December 12 :

On Saturday last Sir Alexander Murray and I, haveing accidentally mett heere at Pebles, gott notice that some 20 English horsemen had layne heere all night, whereof I write to your honour immediately, and Sir Alexander was to dispatch it. I have learned the certaintie since, and finde it was Colonel Ogan, that same man whoe in the yeare 1648 (when Duke Hambleton lead his army in against England) came into this county with some 80 horse, and joynied with him ; that same man who commanded the Earle of Ormond's life guard of foot, when he was routed before Dublin in Ireland 1649, and he who was all last engagement here with the King in Scotland, and was at Worcester with him ; he with these men have come straight down togeather from London without a challenge (as they have given it out here) : they seemed to those that saw them to be all men of good qualitte, for they are gallantly mounted, richly clothed, and well armed, had abundance gold about them ; they gave out to some that spake with them in private, and to whome Ogan revealed himselfe, that he and some others of that number are come soe lately from Paris, as they reckoned that Friday night when they were here to have beene the 27th night¹ since they came from thence (to wit from Paris) and the King is expected shortly in the North.

Lilburne sent out parties of horse to intercept Edward and his men, but he was well on his way before these started,

¹ They took 20 days from London to Peebles ; 7 days is too short a time for the journey from Paris to London, including the time to collect men, money and horses in London.

and as he marched North, he recruited several English Royalists and a number of younger sons of lairds, who were ready for adventure, and wanted something better organized than the forays of moss troopers. So Edward rode into Glencairn's headquarters, North of Loch Tay, with "near 100 gentlemen, well armed and mounted",¹ as Captaine John Gwynne tells us, and he was an experienced soldier not likely to exaggerate numbers. Edward presented his warrants to Glencairn and told him the news he had of Middleton's progress in Holland. Glencairn gave him a commission to raise and lead a regiment of horse. This he seems to have done quickly, for Clarendon in a letter to Middleton dated February 6, 1654, wrote :

Coll Wogan hath writt a very cheerefull letter (from a place I think they call Dunkell,) wherein he says if you were there all were well. He says there are above 1,500 horse and 8,000 foote, and that if they had arms and ammunition they would not want men.²

Edward quickly got to work with his new command and conducted a number of raids into the Lowlands, all of which were successful. This won him a great reputation with the Highlanders, with whom his popularity was at its height when on January 14, 1654, a chance wound ended his career of adventure. This is the story as Heath tells it :

The Noble Wogan, who from France had by the way of Durham and Barwick and through a Fayr in open day marched into Scotland and had joyned with the Scotch Royalists and done excellent service in beating up quarters and attempting them in all

¹ *Military Memoirs of the Civil War*, p. 166.

² *Clarendon MSS.*, XLVII, 355.

their marches and advances, came now at last to his End, Providence having reserved this honourable Destiny for him that he alone of all the English of Note should fall in his Majestie's last quarrel in the Kingdom of Scotland, the Manner thus. Being abroad with his party of some 60 English, he met with Captain Elsenore's Lieutenant ranging upon the same adventure with some more than his number, near Drummond and Weems, and fell upon him, and after a very sharp and short conflict, (for they were armed with Back and Brest, and were veteran blades and never fled before) routed them and was wounded himself with a Tuck,¹ whereof not long after he died and was buried in great state in the Church of Kenmore. Great indignation was there against Robinson, the surgeon, that drest him, for his neglect of him, the Earl of Athol threatened to kill him, so dearly was the heroe loved of that Nation, who constantly envied the worth and gallantry of ours, and here we must leave him till some grateful, learned Muse shall bring the Honourable Achievements, and most laudable high actions of this famous and renowned Captain.²

Edward's opponents in this last fight came from the Brazen Wall Regiment, which as Heath says boasted that it had never been beaten. A troop of this regiment sallied out to drive off a party of Highland raiders, and while they were pursuing them Edward, who was in the neighbourhood, seized a chance and led a charge with some sixty men, which broke through and dispersed them.³ He was wounded by a sword-thrust through the shoulder. He was taken to Wemyss Castle, and Robinson, the

¹ A thrusting sword.

² Heath, *Chronicles of the Civil War*, p. 355.

³ *Mercurius Politicus*, January 17, 1654.

surgeon, apparently allowed the wound to close before it was cleaned, for it gangrened, and Edward died on February 4, 1654, in his twenty-eighth year. He was buried at Kenmore, where Scott makes Flora MacIvor tend his grave and cherish his memory. So ended eight years of gallant adventure such as neither d'Artagnan nor Dugald Dalgetty, his contemporaries, could match in the like time. Scott rescued his name from the dusty shelves of historical records, so I may well end with the lines which he saved from oblivion :

Sound, sound the clarion, fill the fife,
Throughout the sensual world proclaim,
One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name.

T. O. MORDAUNT.

THE WAR SERVICES OF EDWARD WOGAN

- ? 1644 Trooper, Haselrigg's Dragoons.
Battle of Cheriton.
Middleton's operations in the West of England.
2nd battle of Newbury.

- 1645 Captain, Okey's Dragoons, New Model Army.
Siege of Oxford.
Battle of Naseby.
Action at Langport.
Storming of Bridgewater.
Storming of Bath.
Siege of Bristol.

- 1646 Action of Bovey Tracey.
Siege of Dartmouth.
Storming of Torrington.
Capitulation of Truro.
Siege of Oxford.
Outpost Duty on the Trent.

- 1647 The Army occupies London.
Sent with his troop to Worcestershire.

- 1648 Takes his troop, reinforced by Worcestershire
Royalists, to Scotland, capturing Carlisle Castle
on the way.
Raises a regiment of cavalry.
Joins Sir P. Musgrave's invasion of Cumberland.
Capture of Carlisle.
Patrols into Lancashire.
Recalled to Carlisle.
Acts as part of advance guard of Duke of Hamilton's
invasion.
Battle of Preston.
Escapes into Scotland and thence to Ireland.
Joins Ormond in Ireland.

- 1649 Promoted Colonel : raises a regiment of horse.
 With Castlehaven's advance into Kildare.
 Siege of Dublin.
 Battle of Rathmines.
 Obtains terms of capitulation and marches with his
 men to Youghal.
 Made prisoner at Youghal, subsequently released.
 Made Governor of Duncannon Castle.
 Holds Duncannon Castle against Jones.
 Heads a sortie which disperses the besiegers.
 Attempts to recapture Fort Passage.
 Is taken prisoner, sent by Cromwell to prison in
 Cork, to await trial by court-martial.
- 1650 Escapes from Cork prison with his gaoler.
 Rejoins Ormond.
 Defeats the Bishop of Killaloe and takes him
 prisoner.
 Leaves Ireland for France with Ormond.
- 1651 Leaves Paris for Scotland.
 Joins Charles II at Stirling.
 Raises a regiment of horse.
 In advance guard of the march to Worcester.
 Action of Warrington.
 Battle of Worcester.
 Night attack on Cromwell's main body.
 Assists in covering escape of Charles from the
 battlefield.
 Escapes through Wales to Milford Haven and thence
 to France and Paris.
- 1652 With the Court in Paris.
- 1653 Goes with seven companions to London in disguise.
 In London increases his party to 20, collects money
 and buys horses.

1653—*contd.*

Nov. 21 Starts from Barnet Heath.

Nov. 30 Reaches Durham.

Dec. 4 Advances from Durham to the Border, capturing
small parties of Cromwellians on the way.Dec. 9 Reaches Peebles and recruits his command.
Joins Earl of Glencairn with about 100 men.
Raises a regiment of horse.
Leads a number of successful raids into the Lowlands.

1654

Jan. 14 Defeats a squadron of the Brazen Wall Regiment.
Is wounded.

Feb. 4 Dies of his wounds.

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